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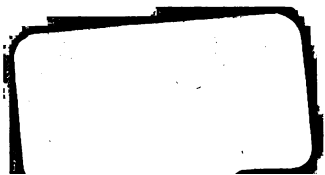
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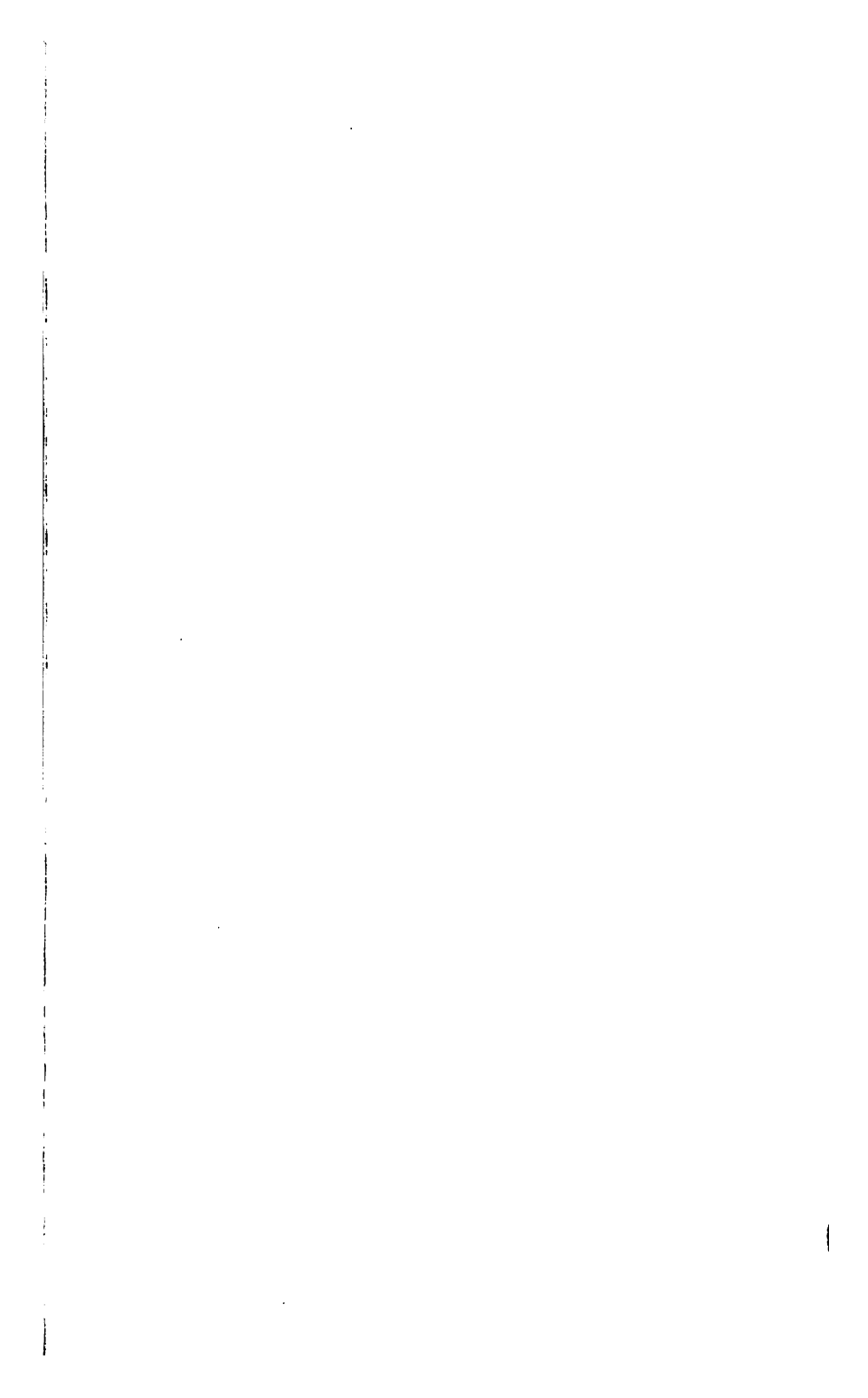
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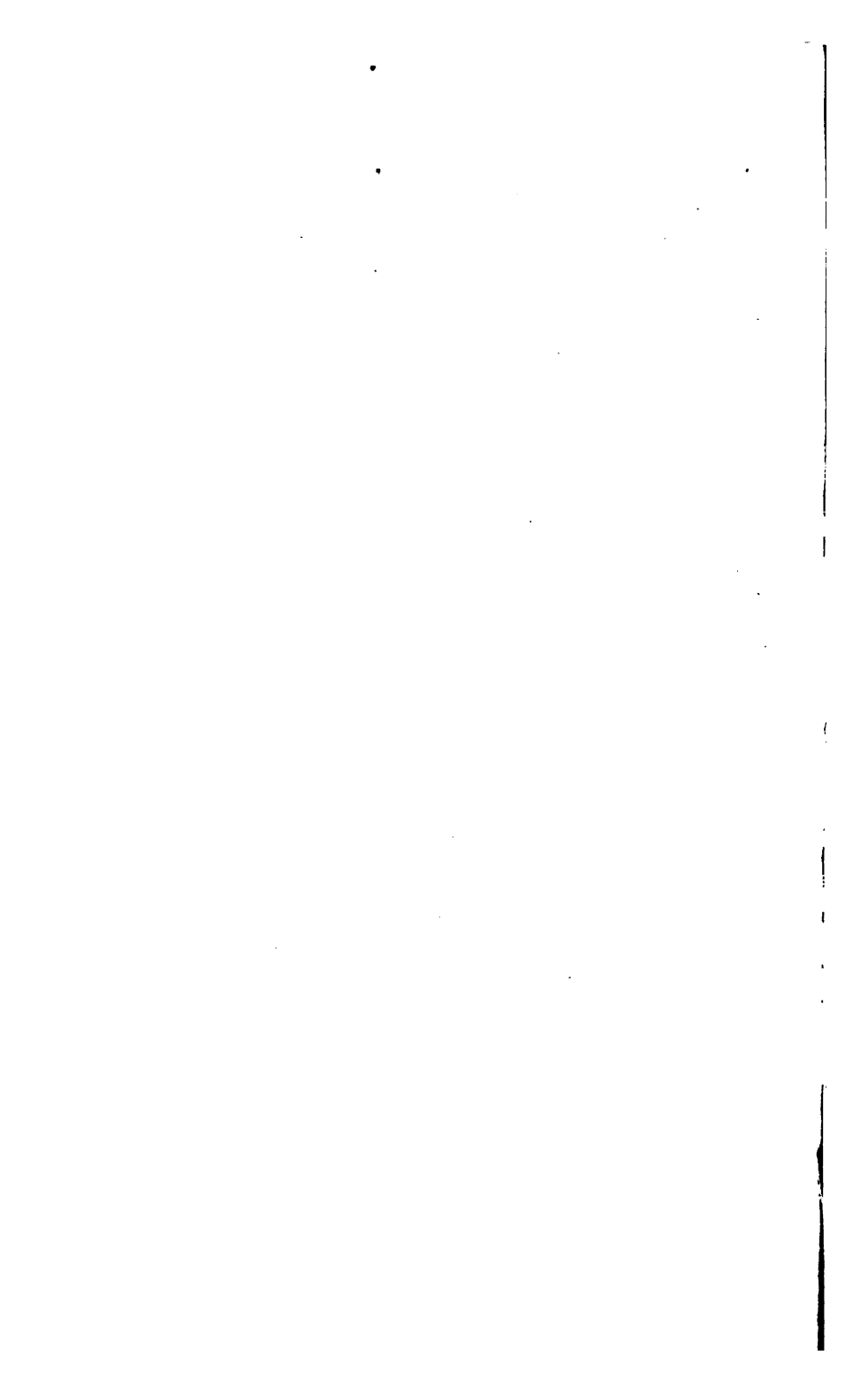
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Smalllett





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A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE
DESCENT of JULIUS CÆSAR,
TO THE
TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

Containing the TRANSACTIONS of
One Thousand Eight Hundred and Three Years.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

THE THIRD EDITION.

VOLUME THE EIGHTH.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
testimonium præsentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

L O N D O N

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A. C. 1660.

his council, into which (though it chiefly consisted of zealous royalists) he, from political views, admitted some chiefs of the presbyterian party, such as the earl of Manchester, appointed lord chamberlain; lord say, privy-seal; Annesley created earl of Anglesey; Ashley Cooper, and Denzil Hollis preferred to the dignity of barons. The dukedom of Albemarle was conferred upon Monk; and admiral Montague was created earl of Sandwich. The king shifted the burden of affairs in a good measure from his own shoulders on those of his brother the duke of York, who excelled Charles in application, as much as he fell short of him in capacity. He was proud, vindictive, arbitrary, and bigoted to the Roman catholic religion, which he had embraced in his exile. The king himself is said to have been a convert to that persuasion; though this was a circumstance he carefully concealed; and indeed he seemed to laugh at all forms of religion. His first minister was Sir Edward Hyde, lately created earl of Clarendon, and high-chancellor of England, who had adhered to him in all his fortunes, was an upright and excellent judge; and served him with equal integrity and attachment. He understood the temper and disposition of the different parties, which he managed with discretion, though he seems to have been rather too inflexible with regard to the presbyterians. His daughter Anne admitted the duke of York to the privilege of an husband, on promise of marriage; and her pregnancy being the consequence of their secret correspondence, Charles insisted upon his performing his promise, rather than fix a stain upon the family of such a faithful servant. He accordingly espoused her, though not without reluctance; and this marriage was extremely disagreeable to the queen-mother, who had been always averse to the chancellor. The marquis of Ormond

Ormond was now created duke, and appointed A. C. 1660. lord-steward of the household; the earl of Southampton, high-treasurer; and Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state.

The assembly of lords and commons was now Act of indemnity. called "The convention," until the king, on the third day after his arrival, went to the upper house; and, sending for the commons, passed an act, by which it was declared a parliament. Then they proceeded on the bill of indemnity, which met with some obstacles, in the lower house, on account of the clauses to be inserted. Some members proposed to make examples of all those who had remarkably exerted themselves in favour of the late usurpation; without paying any regard to the king's declaration from Breda. Many persons imagined that this proposal was dictated by Charles himself, actuated by the desire of revenge; and divers libels were privately circulated, in order to inspire the public with a distrust of his sincerity. With a view to dissipate these suspicions, the king sent a message to the parliament, pressing them to dispatch the act of indemnity, conformable to his declaration from Breda: and, in a few days, it was sent to the lords for their concurrence. The commons had excepted from the benefit of this pardon a very few of the most notorious regicides; but the peers having received a number of petitions from the widows and orphans of those who had been executed by sentences of high courts erected during the usurpation, insisted upon excepting all who had sat as judges on such trials. Charles, fearing that this difference between the houses might be productive of delay, repaired to the house of lords, and persuaded them to pass the bill, in a pathetic speech; representing that his honour was concerned; that he intended to except none but the immediate murderers of his father; and that

A. C. 1660. the tranquillity of the kingdom depended upon the performance of his promise. The lords, thus solicited, concurred with the commons in the material articles of the bill; but they would not consent to a clause relating to nineteen of those who sat as judges on the late king. They had surrendered themselves in consequence of a proclamation, in which Charles declared, that none but such as should surrender themselves within a certain time, could be intitled to his majesty's mercy. The commons had inserted a clause to deprive them of every thing but their lives; and the lords insisted upon their enjoying the full benefit of the indemnity, as they had manifested such confidence in the king's clemency. After several conferences the two houses agreed, that in case those nineteen should be condemned by the judges, the king should respite them until the pleasure of his majesty and the parliament should be more particularly known. At length the act passed, excepting nine and forty who had sat in judgment upon their sovereign.

Particular
persons ex-
cepted.

Oliver Cromwell, Bradshaw, Pride, and one and twenty other members of that court, already dead, were confiscated, and subjected to such other penalties as the king and parliament should think proper to inflict. Philips and Haslerig underwent the same fate: Hutchinson and Laffels were condemned in a fine, and declared incapable of exercising any employment. Oliver St. John, and seventeen other persons nominated in the act, were forbid to accept any civil, ecclesiastical, or military office, on pain of being deemed excepted from the benefit of the indemnity. All who had pronounced sentence of death as judges during the usurpation were declared incapable of being elected members of parliament, or of exercising any employment, excepting Ingoldsbey and Tomlinson. The first had been very instrumental in effecting the restoration,

C H A R L E S II.

tion, the other had been recommended to the favour of Charles in a message from his father, who had been treated with great humanity by Tomlinson; and even made a convert of that officer, by whom he was attended on the scaffold. Sir Henry Vane and general Lambert were likewise excepted from the act, though they had not been concerned in the king's murder. A. C. 1660.

When Charles gave his assent to this act, he passed another, confirming all the judiciary proceedings since the beginning of the civil war, notwithstanding their illegality; a third for levying a capitation-tax to pay the fleet and army; a fourth fixing the interest of money at six per cent; and a fifth, ordaining that the anniversary of his restoration should be observed as a perpetual holiday. Charles took this opportunity to cajole the parliament with a flattering speech, in which he hinted his own necessities. The commons presented his two brothers with a sum of money; and resolved to settle the king's yearly revenue at the rate of twelve hundred thousand pounds: but before they could settle the funds, he ordered them to adjourn to the sixth day of November, after having passed an act for raising by a land-tax, within the space of one month, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds to answer the present occasions of his majesty. They likewise continued for some time longer the tax of seventy thousand pounds per month, which they had imposed in the beginning of the session. At this juncture the duke of Gloucester died of the small pox, in the twentieth year of his age: he was a prince of an amiable character, and tenderly beloved by the king, who seemed more afflicted by his death than by any other incident of his whole life. Liberality of the convention-parliament.
Death of the duke of Gloucester.

During the adjournment of parliament, Charles appointed commissioners to proceed upon the trials

A. C. 1660. of the regicides; the number of whom, including the officers of the court, and others immediately concerned in that tragedy, amounted originally to ninety. Of these, five and twenty were dead; nine and twenty had escaped from the kingdom; seven were deemed proper objects of the king's mercy; nine and twenty received sentence of death; but nineteen were reprieved during the king's pleasure, because they had surrendered themselves according to the proclamation. The ten, devoted to immediate execution, were Harrison, Carew, Coke, Peters, Scot, Clement, Serope, Jones, Hacker, and Axtel. These were all enthusiasts, either millenarians or republicans; and bore their fate, not simply with fortitude, but with the spirit and confidence of martyrs, who suffered for having done their duty. Some circumstances of scandalous barbarity attended their execution. Harrison's entrails were torn out, and thrown into the fire before he had expired: his head was fixed on the sledge that drew Coke and Peters to the place of execution, with the face turned towards them. The executioner, having mangled Coke, approached Peters, besmeared with the blood of his friend, and asked, how he liked that work? Peters eyed him with disdain, saying, "You have butchered a servant of God in my sight; but I defy your cruelty."

After the parliament adjourned, the king had published a proclamation on the subject of religion, directing the bishops how to exercise their spiritual jurisdiction; ordaining that a certain number of theologians should be chosen to review and alter the liturgy; and that no person should, in the meantime, be obliged to conform. Nine of the old bishops, still living, were restored to their dioceses. Bishopsrics and benefices were offered to the most distinguished presbyterian ministers; but they were refused by all except Reynolds, who became bishop

of

The execution of the regicides.

of Norwich. In the month of October, the princess dowager of Orange arrived in London; and the king was afterwards visited by his mother, accompanied by the princess Henrietta, and Edward prince palatine, brother to prince Rupert. It was at this juncture, that the queen-mother proposed the match between her daughter Henrietta and the duke of Orleans; to which Charles consented without hesitation.

Match between the princess Henrietta and the duke of Orleans.

The parliament, meeting on the sixth day of November, sent a solemn deputation to congratulate the queen upon her happy return; and the commons presented ten thousand pounds to each of her daughters: then they took measures for enabling the king to disband the army, which was gradually reduced, Charles reserving only a regiment of horse, and another of infantry, as a guard to his person. It lessning the king's revenue, the commons abolished the court of wards and liveries, in lieu of which he received one hundred thousand pounds a year, arising from one half of the excise, established as a fund in perpetuity for that purpose; and the other half of the excise, together with the duty of tonnage and poundage, were granted to the king for his life. This affair being dispatched, the parliament ordered the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Pride, to be dug out of their graves, and dragged through the streets to Tyburn, where they continued hanging a whole day, and then were interred under the gallows. On a vague report of a conspiracy against the life of the king and queen-mother, Desborough, Overton, Morgan, and some other officers were taken into custody; but upon inquiry, the report was found to be without foundation. On the twenty-ninth day of December, the king, going to the house of peers, thanked the two houses for their affection, in the warmest expressions of gratitude:

A. C. 1660. titude: the chancellor expatiated on the same subject, and then his majesty dissolved the parliament. The earl of Clarendon, in his speech, touched upon the militia; saying, he wished they had found time to settle it to the mutual satisfaction of king and people: he likewise mentioned a conspiracy for surprising Windsor, Whitehall, and the Tower of London. He affirmed, that many disbanded officers and republicans were concerned in this design; and that they had planned an insurrection in the West, to be headed by general Ludlow.

A. C. 1661. In the beginning of January, while the king accompanied his mother to Dover, one Venner, a desperate enthusiast, and fifth-monarchy-man, appeared in the streets of London at the head of threescore fanatics completely armed, and proclaimed king Jesus. They slew a man because he declared himself for God and king Charles. They believed themselves invulnerable, made a desperate resistance against a body of the trained-bands sent to disperse them, and retreated to Kane-wood near Hampstead. Being dislodged from thence in the morning by a detachment of soldiers, they returned to London, and took possession of a house, in which they defended themselves against a body of troops, until the majority was killed. The few survivors were taken, tried, condemned, and executed; and affirmed to the last, that if they had been deceived, the Lord himself was their deceiver. The king used great expedition in dissolving the convention-parliament, because a great number of presbyterians had been returned among the commons, and they were a check on the condescending temper of the other members. They had granted the supplies scantily, and with the appearance of distrust; they were averse to the king's being vested with the whole power of the militia; nor would they have tamely suffered the bishops to resume their seats

The king dissolves the convention-parliament.

Insurrection by Venner.

Kennet.
Burnet.
Ludlow.
Ralph.

seats in parliament. This mad attempt was looked upon as a confirmation of the conspiracy; and it furnished the ministry with a handle to publish a proclamation against all religious conventicles, ordaining that the oaths of allegiance and supremacy should be exacted from all persons suspected of disaffection to the government: so that the presbyterians were confounded with the enemies of the state, under the general appellation of dissenters.

A. C. 1662.

The king had not been long restored when he converted his attention to the affairs of Scotland. Some members of the council proposed, that the Scots should be retained in subjection by means of a standing army and the forts which had been erected from one end of the kingdom to the other. The earl of Lauderdale, who had been taken at the battle of Worcester, and continued a prisoner from that event to the restoration, was now admitted to the council, and strenuously opposed this proposition. He observed that the Scots had been reduced to slavery, in consequence of the efforts they made in behalf of his majesty; and though they were not mentioned in the declaration from Breda, the king could not, without incurring the imputation of ingratitude, allow them to remain in a state of misery and oppression. He said they were so humbled, that they would comply with any terms of submission to the crown, provided their independency should be restored: that the attachment of the Scots to their native prince was very warm, and would be a great resource against the turbulent spirit of the English. Charles was satisfied with these arguments. He ordered the troops in Scotland to be disbanded, the forts to be razed, the English judges in that country to discontinue their functions, and a convention of the estates to be assembled. Those who had distinguished themselves for their loyalty, were nominated to the great offices

Affairs of
Scotland.

A. C. 1661. of the state. He appointed the earl of Glencairn, chancellor; the earl of Crawford, treasurer; the earl of Cassils, lord justice-general; the earl of Lauderdale, secretary of state; and Middleton, now created an earl, was sent down to represent his majesty in the office of lord high-commissioner. At the same time the council determined to intimidate that nation by some examples of severity. The marquis of Argyle had made a journey to London; in hope of being admitted to pay his respects to the king in person: but he was arrested at Whitehall, committed to the Tower, and afterwards sent down to Scotland to be tried for high treason. The other victim devoted to death was one Guthry, a sour pedantic presbyterian minister, who had taken indecent freedoms with the king, while he resided among that people*.

Conference
of divines at
the Savoy.

Some presbyterian ministers finding themselves confounded with other sectaries whom they abhorred, intreated the king to give order for a conference between them and the bishops, that both sides might candidly examine their objections to the English liturgy. Charles complied with their request: one and twenty ecclesiastics were nominated on each side, and the conferences were begun in the house of the bishop of London, who lived in the Savoy. The bishops would not offer such an indignity to the church as to make the least concession to this stubborn sect; and the presbyterians exclaimed against the liturgy, and the surplice, as relics of the church of Rome. After obstinate dispute and virulent altercation, they

* The king appointed the earls of Orrery and Montrath, in conjunction with Sir Maurice Eustace, chancellor of Ireland, to govern that kingdom as justices, until he should have leisure to name a lord lieutenant.

In the course of this year, Charles, by his letters patent, established the royal society, for the improvement of mechanics, mathematics, and natural philosophy.

parted

parted more than ever irritated against each other. On the twenty-third day of April, being the festival of St. George, the king's coronation was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence.

Writs had been issued for a new parliament to meet on the eighth day of May; and the court had influenced the elections so successfully, that the majority of the members returned were strongly attached to the hierarchy and the royal prerogative. The king, in his first speech to both houses, recommended two bills for confirming the act of indemnity, and made them acquainted with his intention to espouse the infanta of Portugal, a match already concluded, with the advice of his council. Sir Edward Turner, solicitor-general to the duke of York, being chosen speaker, the two houses voted that thanks should be returned to his majesty, for this instance of his confidence, in communicating his purposed marriage to his parliament; and that they should go in a body and congratulate him upon that event. Then they ordered, that upon a certain day every member should receive the communion, according to the liturgy of the English church, on pain of being expelled. They afterwards ordained, that the solemn league and covenant, the acts for erecting the high court of justice to try the late king, for subscribing the engagement against a king and house of lords, for declaring England a commonwealth, for renouncing the title of his present majesty, and for the safety of the lord protector, should be burned by the hands of the common executioner.

Zeal and loyalty of the new parliament.

The republicans thinking themselves insecure from the zeal of this parliament, petitioned the king that the act of indemnity might be confirmed; and he wrote to the two houses for this purpose, giving them to understand that this should be the first bill he would pass. They forthwith complied

They pass an extraordinary act for the preservation of his majesty's person and government.

A. C. 1661. complied with his desire ; and on the tenth day of June, he gave his assent to an act to confirm the act of indemnity passed in the preceding parliament ; and to another, authorising the king to receive a free and voluntary contribution from his subjects. The next business on which the commons proceeded, was a bill for confiscating the estates of the regicides who were dead ; and for the punishment of lord Monson, Henry Mildmay, and Robert Wallop, who, though the king spared their lives, were reserved for other pains and penalties. In consequence of this act, they were dragged on a hurdle to Tyburn, with ropes about their necks, and then doomed to perpetual imprisonment. This complaisant parliament, in an act for the preservation of his majesty's person and government, extended the penalties of high-treason to all who should devise the death of the king, or any injury to his person ; who should plot to arrest, imprison, depose, or wage war against him ; who should instigate any foreign power to invade his dominions, or manifest this evil intention by word or writing. They decreed, that whoever should affirm the king was a papist or heretic, or excite the hatred of the people against his government or person, should be rendered incapable of exercising any employment in church or state. They annulled the act for excluding bishops from the house of lords ; they declared that the power of the militia belonged to the king alone ; and they empowered him to dispose of the land-forces. He thanked them for these marks of their confidence and affection ; and having passed the bills, ordered them to adjourn till the twentieth day of November. The convocation which sat during this session, did nothing of any consequence, but grant a benevolence to his majesty, according to the act passed for that purpose.

Rapin.
Ralph.

In

In Scotland the tide of loyalty ran with extraordinary violence. The parliament of that kingdom carried their complaisance to such extravagance, as to annul by a rescissory act all the laws that had passed since the beginning of their disputes with the late king: so that episcopacy was of course restored. They declared the covenant unlawful, and voted an additional revenue to the king, of forty thousand pounds, to be levied by way of excise for the maintenance of a small force, which might prevent future disturbances. The marquis of Argyll was tried for his compliance with the late usurpation; and made such a vigorous defence, that the parliament, though bent upon his destruction, must have acquitted him of the charge, had not the commissioner produced letters which he had written to Monk, while he commanded in Scotland, expressing his hearty concurrence with the government at that time established. Being thus basely betrayed by his former friend, he was found guilty, and condemned to lose his head, which was ordered to be fixed upon the place from whence the head of Montrose had been lately taken down, and solemnly interred with the other parts of his body. The marquis behaved at his execution with great composure; declared himself innocent of the late king's death; exhorted the people to adhere to the covenant, which he called the work of God, and died in peace with all mankind. Guthry confessed all that was laid to his charge, and seemed to glory in his sufferings. On the ladder, he made a kind of sermon to the people, in which he justified all he had done, and extolled the covenant as the most meritorious obligation. Sir Archibald Johnston of Warriston, who had been one of Cromwell's lords, was now attainted; but escaped into France, where he was afterwards seized, brought over, and executed. Sharp, who had been agent for the Scottish

A. C. 1661.
Extravagant
condescen-
sions of the
Scottish par-
liament.

A. C. 1661. Scottish presbyterians, now deserted his party, and being consecrated by the bishop of London, was created archbishop of St. Andrews. Hamilton, Fairfoul, and Leighton, received the same consecration, and were appointed to different sees in Scotland. They obtained from the king a declaration re-establishing episcopacy in that kingdom. The council suppressed all synods and presbyteries, but such as should be authorized by the bishops. The parliament confirmed this restoration; prohibited all sorts of conventicles; re-established the right of patronage; and ordained that all persons in public employments should not only renounce the two covenants, but also declare in writing, that it was unlawful for subjects, on any pretence whatsoever, to engage in such associations, or to take arms against their sovereign,

Burnet.
Rap. n.

Rumours of
plots.

In England the cavaliers loudly complained of the king's ingratitude, in neglecting and leaving them to starve, while their persecutors, by the act of indemnity, enjoyed the immense wealth they had acquired by the most unlawful methods. The ministry, on the other hand, filled the city with rumours of plots and conspiracies against the king and government. Their aim was partly to amuse the public, and partly to animate the people and parliament against the nonconformists, who were said to be the authors of all those combinations. The king himself, the members of both houses, and especially the earl of Clarendon, hated the presbyterians, and wanted an opportunity to humble them, under the general term of Nonconformists. The parliament meeting in November, petitioned the king to issue a proclamation, commanding all reduced officers and soldiers to retire to the distance of twenty miles from London: then the commons voted twelve hundred thousand pounds for his majesty's present occasions.

The

The earl of Clarendon, in a conference between ^{A C. 1661.} the two houses, positively affirmed that a conspiracy had been formed since the month of March, to interrupt the peace of the nation. He named several persons concerned in this plot, the particular circumstances of which he explained; and said, that although it had been defeated at London, by the precaution taken with regard to the disbanded officers and soldiers, it would, nevertheless, be prosecuted in different counties of England. The two houses immediately appointed a committee to enquire into the affair, that measures might be taken to secure the peace of the kingdom. This pretended discovery was the foundation of the ^{Corporation-act.} corporation-act, which was now passed in parliament, ordaining all mayors, aldermen, counsellors, or officers of corporations, to take an oath, importing, that they did not think it lawful, on any pretence whatever, to take arms against the king; and that they abhorred the detestable maxim of arming against the king's person, under the shadow of his authority; or even of opposing such as acted by virtue of his commission. This was a most scandalous concession, by which the liberties of England were left at the mercy of regal power. The committee of both houses proceeded on their inquiry into the nature of the conspiracy; and the earl of Clarendon made an alarming report of a design to surprize Shrewsbury, Coventry, and Bristol: but this plot seems to have been no other than a fiction of the ministry, to pave the way for the act of uniformity; for that was no sooner passed than the inquiry was laid aside.

On the first day of March, the king sending for the commons to Whitehall, gently reproached ^{The king passes the act of uniformity.} them for the little care they had taken to settle his revenue; mentioned a republican party that still subsisted in the kingdom; expressed uncommon zeal

A. C. 1662. for the church of England; gave them to understand that he had sent the book of Common-prayer to the lords, with his approbation of some changes which the convocation had thought proper to make in it, that it might be more suitable to an act of uniformity, which he desired the lower house would prepare, without passion or precipitation. The commons were resolved to manifest their obedience in every particular. They brought in a bill to prosecute the quakers for refusing to take oaths in courts of judicature. On the nineteenth of May, the king gave his assent to the act for establishing uniformity in public worship, and in the administration of the sacraments. By this statute, which began to be in force on St. Bartholomew's day, every minister was obliged to conform to the worship of the English church, according to the book of Common-prayer lately revised, and to sign a declaration approving of that ritual; to take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the solemn league and covenant, and acknowledge his detestation of the principle of taking up arms against the king, or those acting by his commission, on any pretence whatsoever. He was likewise restrained from administering the sacraments, unless he had been previously ordained by a bishop. By an act regulating the militia, all lords lieutenants of counties, and their deputies, together with officers and soldiers, were obliged to declare, upon oath, that they held it unlawful to take arms against the king, or those acting by his commission. As another instance of the parliament's devotion to the king, the commons voted an annual tax of two shillings upon every hearth, to his majesty and his successors: this imposition, joined to the tonnage and poundage, the excise, and duty upon merchandize, augmented his revenue to a much greater sum than had ever been paid to any of his predecessors.

On

On the twenty-first day of May, the king's marriage with Catharine, Infanta of Portugal, was celebrated with great magnificence. Though a virtuous princess, she possessed no personal attractions; but Charles was captivated by her portion, which amounted to three hundred thousand pounds, together with the fortrefs of Tangier in Africa, and Bombay in the East-Indies. Notwithstanding all these supplies, the king dealt out his treasure with such a lavish hand, that his coffers were quickly exhausted; and he was obliged to devise extraordinary means to recruit his finances. His difficulties were considerably increased by the expence of maintaining Dunkirk; and therefore he resolved to sell it for a sum of money to the French ministry. Clarendon and Southampton, though virtuous ministers, were both concerned in this transaction; but, in all probability, the expedient was first proposed by Charles himself. The chancellor invited D'Estrades, the French minister at the Hague, to come over to London, where he managed this negotiation; and the French king purchased Dunkirk, with all the artillery and ammunition in the place, for the consideration of four hundred thousand pounds.

A. C. 1662.

The king's marriage.

Sale of Dunkirk.

While this affair was in agitation, Berkstead, Cobbet, and Okey, three of the regicides, who had escaped to the continent, were discovered, and arrested in Holland by Downing the English resident at the Hague, who had formerly served the commonwealth, and been chaplain to the regiment commanded by Okey. He now seized and conveyed them on board of an English ship, without giving them time to claim the protection of the States; and they were executed at Tyburn, where they behaved with equal moderation and decorum. Their trial was soon followed by that of Sir Henry Vane and general Lambert, who had been excepted

Execution of Berkstead, Cobbet, and Okey.

A. C. 1662. from the act of indemnity, as principal authors of the troubles, though they were not in the number of those who sat in judgment upon the king. Their execution had been suspended, at the intercession of the convention-parliament; but this, out of its great zeal, petitioned for their trial. Vane was indicted for his conduct after the king's death: and defended himself with great ability. He said, that he had acted in obedience to an established authority; and if an acknowledgment of that authority was criminal, the whole nation was guilty: he pleaded the statute of the seventh Henry, enacting, That no man should be questioned for adhering to the established prince: he disclaimed all the cruelties that had been practised upon the parliament and the king: he reminded them of the persecution he had undergone for opposing the usurpation of Cromwell; and observed, that altho' he could have escaped from his enemies, at the restoration, he chose rather to stay, and give testimony with his blood, to the cause of liberty which he had espoused. The law was strained for his conviction; and he fell, in all probability, a sacrifice to the manes of the earl of Strafford, against whom he had acted with the most rancorous enmity. Though naturally fearful, he was so animated by his enthusiasm, as to bear his fate with fortitude and composure. When he was brought to the scaffold to suffer decapitation, he spoke to the multitude in justification of the cause in which he had embarked; but he was silenced by the noise of drums and trumpets. Lambert was likewise found guilty and condemned; but, in consequence of his submissive behaviour at his trial, he obtained a reprieve, and was confined to the island of Guernsey, where he lived twenty years in oblivion.

Two thousand presbyterian ministers resign their livings,

When the act of uniformity took place, so contrary to the king's declaration from Breda, and so much

much to the dishonour of Charles, two thousand presbyterian ministers chose rather to resign their benefices, and embrace beggary, than subscribe the articles. They thought that the bishops would not venture to expel such a number of popular preachers; and that the king, who was indifferent to all forms of religion, would not suffer his promise to be violated, on account of any religious dispute. Charles was wholly passive on this occasion. He did, indeed, hate the manners of the presbyterians; but he was now directed by the earl of Clarendon, who thought it reasonable that the church should be purged of those intruders, who had deformed her beauties, persecuted her ministers, and taken possession of her wealth. In order to mitigate in some measure the severity of this act, the king issued a declaration, promising to use his influence with the parliament, to concur in passing a law by which he might be enabled more fully to exert his dispensing power in favour of those who, from conscientious motives, could not comply with the act of uniformity. This was intended as a preliminary to a general toleration, the benefit of which might extend to the catholics, to whom the king had a secret propensity. They had supported the rights of the crown during the late troubles. There was a splendor and magnificence in their mode of worship that captivated the fancy of Charles. The importunities of his mother, and the persuasions of those with whom he lived in exile, are said to have prevailed upon him to embrace that religion; and his brother the duke of York, who had great influence over his conduct, was superstitiously addicted to popery.

The commissioners appointed by parliament to see the corporation-act put in execution, used their authority with such rigour, that there was not an officer left in any community, who did not warmly

A. C. 1662. espouse the principles of the parliament. They moreover demolished the walls of Gloucester, Coventry, Northampton, and Leicester, because these places in the civil war had distinguished themselves by their zeal against monarchy. About the latter end of the year, six fanatics were executed for having engaged in a conspiracy to murder the king, his brother, the duke of Albemarle, and to surprise the Tower of London and the castle of Windsor. Though no person of consequence was concerned in this design, it was represented as a very serious affair by the ministry, who pretended that Ludlow, and all the republican officers, were ready to appear in open rebellion. Ludlow had made his escape into Switzerland immediately after the restoration; and there he lived without making the least attempt to retrieve the fortune of himself and his associates. In the course of this year, admiral Lawson sailing with a squadron to the coast of Barbary, compelled the dey of Algiers to conclude a peace with England: then the king made Tangier a free-port, and favoured it with particular privileges.

Six fanatics
executed for
a conspiracy.

Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.
Hume.

The presbyterians thinking themselves unjustly oppressed, petitioned the king and council, that they might be exempted from the penalties specified in the act of uniformity; and his majesty published a proclamation, declaring, that although he adhered with all his heart to that act; nevertheless, out of regard to some of his subjects, he was willing to dispense with their observing certain articles therein contained. This indulgence was planned on purpose to favour the catholics, and therefore transacted without the privity and concurrence of the chancellor, whose credit with the king now began to decline. He was a violent enemy to the papists, and therefore hated by the queen-mother, the duke of York, and the earl of Bristol,

A. C. 1663.

Bristol, who had turned Roman-catholic during his exile. He now employed all his wit, humour, and vivacity, in ridiculing the earl of Clarendon, and rendering that faithful minister disagreeable in the eyes of his sovereign. The chancellor was likewise detested by Mrs. Palmer, the king's favourite concubine, who was afterwards created dutchess of Cleveland. She was a woman abandoned by every sentiment of virtue and decorum; proud, revengeful, profligate, and rapacious. Clarendon disdained to flatter her vanity, or gratify her avarice; therefore all her influence upon Charles was used to his prejudice. Secretary Nicholas, the chancellor's intimate friend, was deprived of his office, which the king conferred upon his professed enemy Sir Henry Bennet, a reputed papist, who was afterwards created lord Arlington.

A. C. 1663.

Clarendon's credit begins to decline.

Charles has left very few instances of his gratitude upon record. He granted pensions to the Pendrells, to Mrs. Lane, and some other persons, who had contributed to his preservation after the battle of Worcester; but he neglected the poor cavaliers who had been ruined by their zeal for him and his father's house. A sum of money had been once raised by the parliament for their relief; but this was by no means proportioned to their merits and necessities. Charles was so prodigal in the articles of his common expence, that he could not supply them from his own revenue; and he found it convenient to employ another sort of people, whose affection it was necessary to conciliate: so that the unfortunate royalists being disappointed in their sanguine hopes, loudly complained of his ingratitude; but he fled from their clamours to scenes of mirth, jollity, and sensual pleasure.

Charles not remarkable for his gratitude.

The commons, alarmed at the declaration for indulgence, in which the king assumed a dispensing power,

The parliament's aversion to an indulgence in matters of religion.

A. C. 1663. power, and that too, in order to weaken the force of the law which they had enacted, presented an address, in which they took the liberty to differ in opinion from his majesty, touching the performance of his promise at Breda. They alledged, that this was no more than a gracious declaration, that he would exert his influence with the parliament in favour of tender consciences: they observed, that as the parliament did not think proper to advise or countenance such indulgence, his majesty was acquitted of all obligation towards nonconformists. They enumerated the inconveniences which might arise from a toleration; and proposed, as the most effectual method to prevent schisms, troubles, and divisions, that the laws should be executed for the support of the established religion, according to the act of uniformity. Charles, finding his designs so disagreeable to the commons, thought proper to postpone it to a more favourable opportunity; but the two houses petitioned him, in another address, to issue a proclamation, commanding all Roman catholic priests and jesuits to quit the kingdom, except such as were in the service of the two queens, or belonged to foreign ambassadors. The king assured them of his zeal for the protestant religion; and the proclamation was published, though it produced very little effect.

Clarendon
impeached
by the earl
of Bristol.

While the commons were employed in settling the funds for the king's revenue, Charles being reduced to great necessity, assembled them in the Banqueting-house at Whitehall; and, in the close of a flattering speech, replete with professions of eternal gratitude, and the warmest affection, begged a supply for his present occasions, which he said were extremely pressing. They could not resist his pathetic address; and therefore granted him four entire subsidies. And the convocation of the clergy followed their example. Although the
king's

king's affection was by this time in a great measure A. C. 1669. alienated from the earl of Clarendon, he could not forget his faithful services and attachment; and therefore that nobleman still retained his office and a certain degree of favour: so that the catholic party began to fear he would retrieve the credit he had lost. This consideration, in all probability, induced the earl of Bristol to impeach the chancellor of high-treason. In this strange inconsistent charge, he was accused of having endeavoured to fix the imputation of popery upon the king: of having promised to use his influence in abolishing the penal laws against papists: of having consented to some articles disgraceful to the protestant religion, in the treaty for the king's marriage: of having scandalized his majesty: advised the sale of Dunkirk: reviled both houses of parliament: enriched himself by selling employments; and embezzled the public money. This impeachment appeared so void of all foundation and probability, that it was rejected by the lords; and the earl of Bristol was so much ashamed of his conduct, that for some time he did not appear in public.

In this session the commons granted to the duke of York, the profits arising from the post and wine-licences offices: so that he was enabled to keep a separate court, and live altogether independent of his brother. The parliament being prorogued to the sixteenth day of March, the king and queen made a progress into the western counties; and were entertained with great magnificence by the university of Oxford. During their absence from London, the ministry discovered another conspiracy Kennet. Echard. formed by the independents and republicans, to surprise several towns in the North, and excite a general insurrection: it was an idle scheme of some inconsiderable fanatics and disbanded soldiers; thirty of whom were taken and executed. Conspiracy of the independents. The king

A. C. 1663. king made a handle of this despicable attempt, to demand, in his speech, at the next meeting of the two houses, that the act for triennial parliaments should be repealed; and they complied with his request, in consequence of his affirming, that the kingdom was exposed to continual troubles from the suggestions of a set of men, who pretended that this parliament was dissolved by virtue of that act; and arrogated to themselves the right of meeting for a new election.

A. C. 1664. In the month of April, the commons having examined the obstacles to the trade of the nation, voted, That the wrongs, affronts, and indignities, offered by the Dutch, in the Indies, Africa, and elsewhere, to the subjects of England, had in a great measure obstructed the trade of the nation: That his majesty should be intreated to procure reparation for these wrongs, and take measures for preventing such injuries for the future; for which purposes the two houses would assist him to their utmost power against all opposers. This was the prelude of a war with Holland, upon which the king had been for some time determined. Nothing more frivolous could be assigned for engaging in this enterprize. In specifying particulars, the Dutch were charged with having taken two English ships in the East-Indies; but they alledged, that those ships had been employed in carrying on an illicit commerce, and the states had actually deposited a sum of money exceeding the value of them, until the English court of admiralty could determine the merit of the cause. The war owed its origin to other motives. Charles, whose prodigality kept him always necessitous, foresaw that he should be able to convert to his private use part of the supplies granted for the maintenance of the war: he delighted in ship-building; and was ambitious of equipping a navy that should give law to all the maritime

maritime states in Europe : his brother longed for A. C. 1664. an opportunity to signalize his courage and power as high-admiral, against a people he hated, not only for the republican principles, but also as one of the chief bulwarks of the protestant religion : the trading part of the nation looked upon the Dutch as the most dangerous rivals in commerce ; and the royal African company, in particular, had been thwarted by the Dutch in fixing their settlements on the coast of Guiney.

The two houses having presented an address to the king on the subject of their vote, he expressed his satisfaction at this instance of their zeal for the advancement of commerce ; said, he would examine the particular complaints which had been made against the subjects of the states-general, and order his minister at the Hague to demand immediate reparation. Instructions were sent to Downing for this purpose ; but, in the mean time, the duke of York, as governor of the royal African company, sent Sir Robert Holmes with a squadron to distress the Dutch settlements on the coast of Guiney. He drove them from Cape de Verd ; built a fort at the mouth of the river Gambia ; made himself master of Cape-corse castle, and took a great number of their trading vessels. From thence he sailed to America, and took possession of Nova Belgia, which changed its name to that of New-York. At this very juncture, admiral de Ruyter and Sir John Lawson had sailed with combined squadrons against the corsairs of Algiers. The states were no sooner informed of the hostilities committed upon their subjects by Holmes, than they dispatched private orders to De Ruyter, importing, that he should sail to the coast of Guiney, and make reprisals on the English. He accordingly undertook the voyage, re-established the Dutch

Hostilities
between the
English and
the Dutch
on the coast
of Guiney.

in

A. C. 1664. in all their possessions; expelled the English from some of their old settlements, and made prize of all the ships that fell into his hands. Then he sailed to the West-Indies, where he was repulsed in an attack upon Barbadoes; and afterwards made attempts upon some of the English colonies in North America.

The States-general send an ambassador extraordinary, to London.

Downing, the English minister at the Hague, presented a memorial to the states, demanding satisfaction for the damages done to the English, which, he said, amounted to seven or eight hundred thousand pounds; and they being willing to avoid a war, sent over Van Goch, as an ambassador-extraordinary to London, to compromise the differences between the two nations. When he complained of the hostilities committed by Holmes, Charles pretended this was a private difference between two companies; of which he would not pretend to take cognizance; and he excused his having prohibited the importation of merchandize from Holland, on account of the plague, which had been introduced into that country. Nevertheless, he continued to make preparations for war with surprising industry. He borrowed one hundred thousand pounds of the citizens of London, who were pleased with the prospect of a war that threatened destruction to their rivals; and he visited all the docks in person, that his presence might quicken the diligence of the workmen. In the month of November, the duke of York set sail with a squadron, and falling in with a fleet of Dutch merchant ships, took one hundred and thirty vessels, which were detained as lawful prize, tho' war was not yet declared. The French king offered his mediation, which was accepted by the States-general: but Charles refused to enter into any negotiation, until he should have received entire satisfaction

faction for the losses and insults which his subjects had sustained. A. C. 1664.

The parliament, before its last prorogation, had passed an act against conventicles, ordaining that every person convicted of having been present at a religious meeting of dissenters, should be fined in five pounds for the first offence, ten for the second, and for the third be transported to the plantations: by this law the presbyterians were excluded from all benefit of the declaration from Breda. When the two houses met on the twenty-fourth day of November, the king gave them to understand, that upon his own credit he had equipped the strongest fleet that ever England owned; and that as he had expended eight hundred thousand pounds on this armament, he hoped the commons would indulge him with proportionable supplies. He said the states had, by numberless artifices, eluded every reasonable proposal for a pacification; and he assured them, that, should he be compelled to engage in hostilities, he would never listen to any overtures of peace, until after having obtained those ends for which the war should be undertaken. The commons were so well disposed to concur with his desires, that they forthwith voted a supply of two millions five hundred thousand pounds for the maintenance of this just and necessary war: and then Charles issued a declaration, enjoining all his subjects to make reprisals on the ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of the States-general. Mean while the Dutch did not neglect to put themselves in a posture of defence. When the news of De Ruyter's progress on the coast of Guiney, end in the West-Indies, arrived in England, the king published a solemn declaration of war against the United Provinces, with the unanimous consent of all the privy-counsellors, except the earls of Southampton and Clarendon, who

The commons vote very large supply for defraying the expenses of the fleet.

Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.

The king declares war against Holland.

A. C. 1664. who had opposed this rupture from the beginning of the disputes †.

Lewis XIV. being importuned by the Dutch to declare against England, in consequence of the last treaty which he had concluded with the States-general, and solicited by Charles to observe a neutrality, was for some time divided in his sentiments. He was loth to disoblige Charles, lest he should throw himself into the arms of Spain, whither he had lately sent an embassy: and, on the other hand, it was his interest to support De Wit and the Lovestein party in Holland against the prince of Orange, who naturally claimed the assistance of his uncle the king of England. In order to gain time, he sent the duke de Vernueil, at the head of a splendid embassy, to London, with offers of mediating a peace between England and the United Provinces; and there they continued till the latter end of the succeeding year, though their endeavours did not meet with success. The duke of York putting to sea in the month of May, before the Dutch fleet was assembled, sailed towards the coast of Holland, and cruised near the Texel fifteen days, during which he took a great number of their ships homeward bound; then he retired to Harwich road. After his departure, the fleets of Holland and Zealand joined, to the number of one hundred and twenty-one, exclusive of fireships, under the command of admiral Opdam, Cortenaer, Evertzen, and Cornelius Van Tromp, son of the celebrated Martin Van Tromp, who lost his life in the late war. This armament was fitted out by the advice, vigilance, and activity of John De

A solemn embassy arrives from France.

† The parliament was prorogued to August, and afterwards to October. In this session, the clergy resigned the right of taxing themselves in convocation; so that henceforth they were taxed by the commons, like the rest of the community. By this resignation, they parted with their importance, and have been very little considered since that period.

Wit,

Wit, pensionary of Holland, a man of very extensive talents, who possessed the spirit of an old Greek republican. He had always opposed the growing power of the house of Orange, lest it should one day enslave his country. His interest now predominated in the commonwealth; and he resolved to hazard a general engagement with the English, because, even if the Dutch navy should be defeated, that event would induce the French king to declare for the republic.

Opdam therefore sailed in quest of the English fleet, and descried it near Colchester; but the wind changing so as to blow from the south-west, he bore away for the mouth of the Meuse, rather than engage the enemy, while they had the advantage of the weather-gage. He received a fresh order from the states, commanding him, upon pain of death, to fight the English, whatever might be the state of the weather. He forthwith weighed anchor on the third day of June; and in a few hours fell in with the English fleet, consisting of one hundred and fourteen sail, exclusive of fire-ships and ketches, under the command of the duke of York, assisted by prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich, with Penn, Lawson, Sir George Ayscue, and some other inferior admirals. The engagement began at four in the morning, and both sides fought with their usual intrepidity. The duke of York was in the hottest part of the battle, and behaved with great spirit and composure, even when the earl of Falmouth, the lord Muskerry, and Mr. Boyle were killed at his side by one cannon-ball, which covered him with the blood and brains of these three gallant gentlemen. He was closely engaged with Opdam, while that officer perished by his ship's blowing up; his flag was hoisted by Cortenaer, who likewise fell in the battle: a good number of the Dutch captains had been promoted

The duke of York obtains a victory over the Dutch fleet.

A. C. 1665. in the service by the interest of the prevailing faction, without any regard to merit, and some of these were deficient in point of courage. In a word, the enemy was defeated, with the loss of nineteen ships either burned or sunk in the action, and about six thousand men. The victory cost the English three or four ships, and fifteen hundred men, among whom was vice-admiral Lawson, an officer of great valour and experience: the Dutch fleet were chased to the coast of Holland, Van Tromp securing their retreat with equal valour and discretion*. The duke of York sailing back to England, left the fleet at anchor, and repaired to London, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people. The king ordered a day of thanksgiving to be observed all over England for this victory: and medals were struck in honour of the duke of York, who now became the idol of the nation, and began to be respected as the presumptive heir of the crown; for the queen was supposed barren, and almost totally neglected by her husband. The king and council would not suffer the duke to expose his person to the danger of a second engagement; and therefore the command of the fleet devolved upon the earl of Sandwich.

* This victory might have been much more complete, had not Brouncker, a gentleman of the duke's belchamber, desired Penn, in his master's name, to slacken sail, while they were in pursuit of the enemy. The duke had retired to rest, after having given order to carry all their sail, and wake him when they should be up with the chase. When he awoke, and saw they had shortened sail, he expressed equal surprize and displeasure; and Brouncker was turned out of his service. Some people

imagined this man had made use of the duke's name without his authority, in consequence of an injunction of the dutcheis, who had directed him to take all opportunities of consulting his master's personal safety. Others alledge that the duke's courage was exhausted; and that he was affected by an expression of Penn, who, at a council of war, said, they must prepare for a hotter engagement; for the courage of the Dutch was never so high as when they were reduced to despair.

Burnet.

The

The Dutch fleet of merchant ships from Turkey and the East-Indies, having sailed North about, in order to avoid the English cruisers, anchored in the port of Berghen in Norway, where they lay until De Ruyter should come and conduct them to Holland. Sir Gilbert Talbot, the English envoy at Copénhagen, proposed to the king of Denmark, that he should seize all those ships, which were richly laden, by way of revenge upon the Dutch, who, he said, had involved him in a troublesome war with Sweden. The Danish king was tempted by the richness of the prize; but observed, he was not in a condition to execute such a design. Talbot promised to procure the assistance of the English fleet, provided he would recompense the captors with one half of what they should take: the bargain was struck between the two monarchs; and Charles ordered the earl of Sandwich to set sail immediately for Berghen. The earl detached Sir Thomas Tiddeman, with part of the fleet, on that service, and he attacked the Dutch with great impetuosity: but the governor of Bergen, who had not yet received orders to remain passive, joined the Hollanders in giving him such a warm reception, that he was obliged to quit the enterprize, after having received considerable damage. Charles was not a little chagrined at the disappointment; and so displeased with the earl of Sandwich, for having omitted to sail thither in person, that he was deprived of his command, and sent on an embassy to Madrid. De Ruyter having returned from America with a good number of English prizes, was promoted to the office of lieutenant-admiral-general, and immediately vested with the command of a fleet of ninety-three sail, in excellent order. The pensionary De Wit, Huygens, and Boreel, embarked as commissioners from the states. They, with great difficulty, sailed from the Texel through

A. C. 1665.
Unsuccessful
att-mpt up-
on the
Dutch fleet
of mer-
chant ships
in Berghen.

A. C. 1665. a new passage which De Wit now discovered by founding. They arrived at Berghen, and took their trade under convoy; but they were dispersed by a storm, and some of them fell into the hands of the English: the rest of the fleet returned to Holland, in a shattered condition.

Plague in London.

At this period, the plague made terrible havoc in London, where it swept off above one hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The king, in order to avoid the contagion, retired to Hampton-court, from whence he removed his household to Salisbury; but this city being soon infected, he chose his residence at Oxford. Charles had excited the famous Bernard Van Ghalen bishop of Munster, to take arms against the States-general, in consideration of receiving a large subsidy from England. This turbulent prelate assembled a body of twenty thousand men, with which he invaded the province of Overyssel, and reduced several places: but the French king and the duke of Lunenburg sending a considerable reinforcement to the Dutch army, and the subsidy from England being ill paid, he was glad to listen to terms of accommodation.

Five mile act.

The parliament meeting at Oxford in the beginning of October granted twelve hundred thousand pounds to the king for the support of the war, and one hundred thousand to the duke of York, in acknowledgment of his signal services. Then they passed the famous "Five mile act," by which every non-conforming preacher was banished five miles from the place where he had been minister, after the act of indemnity, unless he would take the oath of non-resistance. They were treated in this manner, on pretence that they had endeavoured to poison the minds of the people, by instilling into them the principles of schism and rebellion. Tho' this prosecution was set on foot by the chancellor, who was the implacable enemy of the presbyterians,

6

the

the bill met with great opposition in the upper house, from his intimate friend the earl of Southampton. The same sect was persecuted with equal severity in Scotland, though the majority of that nation were presbyterians. The nonjuring ministers were commanded by a proclamation to remove with their families, to the distance of twenty miles from the places where they used to reside, on pain of incurring the penalty annexed to seditious practices. These people would have been reduced to a deplorable situation, had not the charity of their friends increased, in proportion to the severity of the government.

The king of France, importuned by the States-general, at length recalled his ambassadors, and, in January, declared war against England, though he did not enter heartily into the quarrel of his allies; and, indeed, this declaration was necessary to maintain the credit of the pensionary, whom it was certainly his interest to support. The states likewise found means to engage the king of Denmark in their cause, by virtue of a large subsidy, in consideration of which he obliged himself to maintain a fleet of thirty sail for their service: at the same time they raised up such a number of enemies against the bishop of Munster, that he was fain to sue for peace, which was concluded at Cleves in the month of April. In the beginning of February, the king returned to London, and war was declared against France. In the course of the same month, the queen by miscarrying, disproved the common opinion of her being barren from some constitutional impediment.

The command of the fleet being bestowed upon prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle, the former, with forty ships, sailed in quest of the duke of Beaufort, who was said to be at Belleisle, with a squadron of six and thirty ships, ready to

A. C. 1665.

France declares war against England.

Burnet. Rapis. Ralph.

A. C. 1666.

A furious engagement at sea between the English and Dutch, in which the latter have the advantage.

enter the channel and join the Dutch fleet. After he had failed on this expedition, De Ruyter appeared between Newport and Dunkirk, with seventy-one ships of the line, twelve frigates, thirteen fire ships, and eight yachts; Evertzen and Tromp acting as inferior admirals. The duke of Albemarle, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, bore down upon them without hesitation, on the first day of June; and the Dutch captains were so eager to engage, that they ordered their cables to be cut; that they might be the sooner able to close with the English. The battle began with incredible fury: Tromp, and afterwards De Ruyter, were obliged to shift their flags, because their ships had sustained such damage that they were in danger of sinking; one of their fleet was blown up, and admiral Evertzen killed with a cannon-ball. On the other hand, Sir William Berkeley, who led the van of the English, steered into the midst of the enemy, where his ship was overpowered and taken, after a gallant resistance, in which he lost his life: one or two English ships were sunk, notwithstanding the valour and activity of Albemarle, who, though in the decline of life, fought with all the ardour and vivacity of a youthful warrior: Night parted the combatants; but next day the weather being more moderate, the fight was renewed with redoubled violence. Van Tromp having engaged himself too far among the English, would have been taken, had not De Ruyter come to his assistance, and brought him off. These two admirals were of opposite factions, and rivals for glory: they were inspired with emulation, and fought with equal conduct and resolution. The Dutch being joined with a reinforcement of sixteen ships, and the English fleet shattered in such a manner, that not above eight and twenty sail remained fit for service, the duke of

Albemarle

Albemarle was obliged to ~~sheer~~ ^{sheer} off, and retreat towards the coast of England, followed by the victorious enemy, who had come up with him towards the evening, when a calm prevented them from beginning a fresh attack. In the morning of the third day, Albemarle having made a previous disposition, sent the disabled ships a-head, while he himself remained in the rear with those that were still capable of service, so as to form a line a-stern occasionally for the reception of the pursuers. About two o'clock, when the Dutch were almost within gun-shot, the duke descried prince Rupert and his squadron to the southward, crowding all their sails to come up with him, and immediately hauled upon a wind to join this reinforcement. Sir George Ayscue, in a ship of one hundred guns had the misfortune to strike on the Galloper sands, where he was surrounded and taken. The two English fleets having joined, prepared for another engagement, and in the morning bore down upon the Dutch, who waited for them without flinching. A fourth battle was now begun with equal rage and resolution on both sides, and continued until it was interrupted by a thick fog, when the English found themselves so maltreated, that they took this opportunity to retire, with the loss of divers large ships that were sunk or taken by the enemy. Both sides claimed the victory; but the Dutch had certainly obtained the advantage, though there was no glory lost by either nation.

Both fleets were soon refitted: and De Ruyter was ordered to put to sea, to join the duke de Beaufort with the French squadron. On the twenty-fourth day of July, he fell in with the English fleet, commanded by prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle: it amounted to above one hundred sail, while that of the states did not exceed eighty-eight ships of war and nineteen fireships. The bat-

The Dutch fleet defeated by the English under prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle.

A. C. 1666.

ble began near the mouth of the Thames, and was fought with equal rage and emulation. Sir Thomas Allen, vice-admiral of the white, defeated the van of the enemy, and three of their inferior admirals were slain. In the mean time Sir Jeremy Smith, vice-admiral of the blue, was worsted by Van Tromp, who followed the chace so far that he was entirely separated from the center. De Ruyter being overpowered by numbers, sustained the engagement till night with difficulty; and was next day attacked by the whole force of the English navy. He bore the shock with unshaken resolution, and gained more glory by his retreat than the English acquired by their victory. They followed him to the coast of Flushing, and then sailed in quest of Tromp, whom they descried near Harwich; but, in spite of all their efforts, he retreated with very little loss to the Texel. He was of the Orange faction, and supposed to have deserted De Ruyter from motives of animosity. This admiral having complained of his conduct, he was put under arrest, and his commission bestowed upon another officer. The duke of Albemarle detached Holmes, with a squadron, to insult the coast of Holland. In the road of Vlve he burned a great number of vessels, and two ships of war appointed for their convoy: then he made a descent upon the island of Schelling, and reduced the town of Brandaris to ashes. After this expedition, the English fleet took their station near the isle of Wight, to hinder the junction of the French and Dutch squadrons, while De Ruyter anchored in the road of St. John, near Boulogne. There he was taken dangerously ill of a contagious distemper, which had made terrible havock among the seamen; and the states thought proper to recal him to Holland. The duke of Beaufort, thinking they were still in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, sailed up the channel

as far as Dieppe, and then directed his course to the coast of Britany, without suffering the least molestation from the English. A. C. 1666.

About this period, London was exposed to a terrible disaster from a conflagration, which broke out on the third day of September, in the house of a baker that lived on Fish-street hill, near the bridge. The flames, augmented by a strong easterly wind, raged with surprising violence. They destroyed six hundred streets, including eighty-nine churches, many hospitals and public edifices, and thirteen thousand two hundred private houses. The ruins, comprehending four hundred and thirty-six acres of ground, extended from the Tower along the river to the Temple-church, and north-easterly along the city walls as far as Holborn-bridge. The conflagration continued three days, notwithstanding all the endeavours that could be used to stop its progress, the king and the duke assisting personally on horseback, from the first alarm to its total cessation. At length when all hope had vanished, and the wretched inhabitants were overwhelmed with consternation and despair, it suddenly ceased, and was entirely extinguished, after having reduced many thousand families from affluence to misery, and the most flourishing city in Europe to a deplorable heap of rubbish. Nevertheless the spirit of the people did not sink under this calamity. London rose more beautiful from its ashes. The king, by a stretch of the prerogative, regulated the plans of the new streets, so as to render them more spacious and convenient than those which had been burned; and he prohibited the use of lath and timber, as materials for the construction of the houses. The narrowness of the streets had not only subjected them to casualties of this nature, but also prevented a free circulation of air, which being impregnated with animal vapours, was apt to putrify, and produce infectious distempers, insomuch that Lon-

A. C. 1666. London was scarce ever free from a contagion; whereas no such distemper has appeared since the city was rebuilt.

imputed to
catholics.

The fire of London was supposed to be the effect of malicious design, and variously imputed to the Roman catholics and the republicans, as the stream of prejudice happened to run; though it does not appear how such a scheme could contribute to the interest of either party. The populace generally exclaimed against the catholics as the authors of this conflagration. The parliament appointed a committee to make a severe scrutiny on this subject, but nothing appeared to the prejudice of the papists; yet the mischief is charged upon them in the inscription engraved on the pillar that was erected as a monument of this calamity. A French Huguenot was apprehended and convicted on his own confession: he appeared to be lunatic, and the ship-master, in whose vessel he had been conveyed from Rouen, declared that he did not arrive in London till the conflagration was begun; nevertheless he was condemned and executed. When the parliament met in September, they voted the sum of one million eight hundred thousand pounds for the support of the war: but as the nation in general imputed the conflagration to the catholics, and the king was observed to countenance some persons of that persuasion, they petitioned that the laws might be put in execution against Romish priests and jesuits. He forthwith issued a proclamation for this purpose; yet the delinquents were so favourably dealt with, that the people, and even the parliament, began to take umbrage at the administration.

Insurrection
in Scotland.

The rigour exercised against the presbyterians in Scotland, under the direction of archbishop Sharp, produced some violent disorders in that kingdom. In the month of November, the people of the western

western shires ran to arms, and surpris'd Turner, A. C. 1666. who was quartered at Dumfries with an inconsiderable number of soldiers. At Lanerk in Cliddefdale they held a solemn fast, renewed the covenant, and published a declaration. They declared that they had taken arms against the king; they complained of the oppression under which they groaned; they demanded that episcopacy should be abolished; and that presbytery, with the covenant and their ministers, should be restored. Dalziel, with some troops of horse, was sent against those insurgents; and, by proclamation, offered pardon to all those who should, in four and twenty hours, return to their houses. They marched towards Edinburgh, in hope of being joined by the inhabitants of that city; but, being disappointed in their expectation, they began to be discouraged, and dropped off so fast, that their number was reduced from two thousand to nine hundred. They resolved to retreat to the West, where they knew the people were well affected to their cause; but, Dalziel charging them at Pentland-hills, they were immediately routed and dispersed. Forty were killed on the spot, about one hundred and thirty taken; and the rest escaped by the darkness of the night. They were poor, innocent enthusiasts; the objects of compassion rather than of resentment; they had injured no person in their march, but payed regularly for their provision, and spent their time in sermons, psalm-singing, and prayer. Forty of these poor wretches chose to be hanged rather than renounce the covenant; and bore their fate like martyrs. One Maccail, a preacher, who was supposed to know their correspondents who had encouraged them to take up arms, was put to the torture, which he endured without flinching, and expired in a rapture of religious joy; exclaiming, in a clear, distinct voice,
“ Fare-

A. C. 1666. "Farewel sun, moon, and stars! farewel kindred
 "and friends! farewel world and time! farewel
 "weak and frail body! welcome eternity! wel-
 "come angels and faints! welcome Saviour of the
 "world! and welcome God the judge of all!"

This severity was expressly contrary to the inclinations of the king; who, in a letter to the earl of Rothes, the commissioner, desired that no more blood might be shed; that the prisoners should be set at liberty, on their promising to obey the laws for the future; and that those who should refuse to submit should be sent to the plantations. These executions, and many other instances of oppression were countenanced by Sharp and Burnet, archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow.

The parliament begins to abate in its complaisance to the king.

The commons of England had by this time considerably abated in their complaisance to his majesty. Instead of discussing the money bill, they were employed in drawing up an impeachment of lord Mordant, governor of Windsor-castle, for having acted tyrannically in that station. They presented the articles to the upper house, and complained at the same time, that he was permitted to keep his place among the peers, while the articles of his impeachment were recited. The upper house, on the other hand, blamed the commons for having infringed the right of the peers by imposing an oath upon the commissioners, whom they appointed to receive the money arising from the capitation-tax: and these subjects of contest produced divers fruitless conferences. At length the poll-tax passed; though the king complained of their having named commissioners, as a mark of the little confidence they reposed in his honour. They likewise confirmed the regulation he had made for rebuilding the city of London.

Burnet,
 Rapin,
 Ralph.

Charles was now tired of the war, from which he had reaped no solid advantage. Overtures of peace had

had been made, and the king of Sweden had offered his mediation. The States-general were willing that things should be reduced to the same situation in which they had before the war; or that each side should keep the advantage they had gained. This alternative was so equitable, that nothing seemed wanting but the formality of a treaty: the king, however, postponed the negotiation, until he should receive the supplies from parliament, part of which he resolved to convert to his own private purposes. These being obtained, he determined to treat in earnest; but insisted upon opening the congress at London. The States declared they had no objection to that proposal, but the consideration of their allies, the kings of France and Denmark, who refused to treat in any part of England. Then Charles proposed the Hague, in hope of being able to influence the deliberations by means of the Orange faction; but the pensionary perceived his drift, and this place was judged improper. At length all parties agreed that the conferences should be opened in May at Breda. Thither lord Hollis and Mr. Coventry were sent as plenipotentiaries from England; while those of France, Denmark, and Holland, repaired to the same place; as well as two ambassadors from the king of Sweden, under whose mediation the conferences were carried on. Charles insisted upon the restitution of the two ships which had been taken before the war, and the island of Poleron in the East-Indies, which had been wrested from the English, restored by a subsequent treaty, and now retaken since the commencement of the war. It was a spice-island, and though the Dutch had delivered it to the English, according to treaty, they carefully grubbed up all the clove trees before it was surrendered. Notwithstanding this precaution, they knew it might have

A. C. 1667. have been easily replanted, so as in a few years to interfere with their spice trade, and therefore tenaciously insisted upon retaining it in their own hands.

The Dutch fleet b^{ms} the English ships.

Charles, at length, relaxed in this article, and looked upon the peace as already concluded. He ordered all his large ships to be unrigged, and kept only a small squadron of cruisers in commission. De Wit resolved to take the advantage of his negligence: the preparations in Holland were continued without ceasing; and De Ruyter, sailing from the Texel with fifty ships of the line, steered directly to the river Thames, at the mouth of which he arrived on the tenth day of June. He attacked Sheerness fort, which was easily taken: he broke down a strong chain drawn across the mouth of the river Medway, and destroyed three guardships moored within side for its protection. He cleared a passage through some vessels which had been sunk in the channel by order of the duke of Albemarle: then sailed up the river as far as Upnore castle, which was reduced. Then they burned three ships of the line, after having met with a desperate resistance; and fell down the Medway, with a resolution to attempt the river Thames. By this time the whole coast was alarmed, and London filled with consternation. Ships were sunk at Woolwich and Blackwall; platforms raised in different places, and provided with artillery, the trained-bands drawn out, and the city of London put into a posture of defence. De Ruyter, seeing no prospect of succeeding in the Thames, set sail for Portsmouth, which he in vain attempted to reduce; then he directed his course to Torbay, where he took some English vessels. He made an unsuccessful attempt upon Plymouth: from thence he sailed up the channel, insulted Harwich, chased a squadron commanded by Sir Edward Sprague, penetrated
once

once more into the river Thames, and kept all the sea-ports on that side of the island in terror and confusion. The people were fired with indignation to see themselves exposed to the insult of an enemy whom they had formerly contemned. They loudly exclaimed against the king, who had converted the public money to his own private use, and left the nation defenceless.

A. C. 1667.

De Ruyter, proceeded to alarm the whole coast, and domineer at sea without opposition, until the treaty was concluded at Breda. By this pacification Acadia was yielded to the French king, who agreed to restore St. Christophers and some other islands which he had taken in the West-Indies; and the two principal contracting parties retained the acquisitions they had made; by which stipulation the colony of New-York in North-America remained with the English. The only gainers by this war were the two royal brothers. Charles had sold all the merchant ships taken from the Dutch before and after the declaration of war; and he pocketed the greater part of the late supply; while his brother enjoyed a great share of the prizes as lord high admiral of England, exclusive of the present he had received from the parliament.

Peace of Breda.

The king was no stranger to the murmurs of the people, who complained bitterly of his conduct; not only on account of the late disgrace, but likewise of his having concluded an inglorious peace, after the war had cost such immense sums of money. They accused him of having deceived the parliament, in declaring he would never lay his arms aside until he should have received ample satisfaction from the enemy: they taxed him with having embezzled the supply: they blamed him for his partiality to catholics, and, in particular, for having bestowed the office of secretary of state upon the earl of Arlington, a reputed papist: they were

The king resolves to sacrifice Clarendon, to the murmurs of the nation.

A. C. 1667. were scandalized at his lewd life and the irregularities of his court, which was become a scene of buffonery and intemperance. The king thought it was necessary to make some sacrifice to the discontents of the subjects, and pitched upon Clarendon as a proper victim. Charles looked upon that nobleman as a troublesome censor, who disapproved of his conduct, and was a check upon his pleasures. The favourite mistress railed at the earl without ceasing: the duke of Buckingham and other courtiers ridiculed his character and deportment. The king received intimation that the chancellor had opposed a scheme projected by some members of the lower house, for settling a revenue of two millions upon his majesty; and this opposition, which flowed from a love to his country, was construed into an unpardonable offence against his sovereign. His gravity and inflexible virtue operated as a continual reproach upon the levity and dissolute morals of Charles, who had been long disgusted by his manners, even while he respected his talents and fidelity: but what incensed the king against him beyond all possibility of forgiveness, was the part he acted in the marriage of the duke of Richmond. Charles was enamoured of Mrs. Stuart, whom he had tempted with all the allurements which a crown could enable him to exhibit; but, finding her chastity impregnable, he entertained thoughts of procuring a divorce from the queen, and raising Mrs. Stuart to the place of his lawful consort. The earl of Clarendon, who knew his design, is said to have promoted a match between this young lady and the duke of Richmond, that his grand-children might not be excluded from the succession to the throne, by the issue of the king's second marriage. The duke of Richmond, who was captivated by the beauty of Mrs. Stuart, espoused her in private; and the king was so exasperated

rated at the match, that he not only banished the duke from court, but reviled Clarendon with the most bitter reproaches. That nobleman had the misfortune to be very unpopular at this juncture; and his friend the earl of Southampton was lately dead. The presbyterians, a powerful and numerous sect, hated Clarendon as the author of all the persecution they had undergone. He was abhorred by the catholics as the great obstacle to all their hopes of favour and toleration; and the people, in general, blamed him for the sale of Dunkirk. He was employed in building an expensive house, while the plague depopulated the city of London; and purchased some stones, which, before the fire of London, had been set apart for rebuilding St. Paul's cathedral. The prejudiced vulgar bestowed the name of Dunkirk-house on this new edifice: they looked upon the execution of his design at that juncture, as an insult upon the calamities of the nation, and exclaimed against the impiety of using, in his own house, the materials which had been provided for the house of God. All these concurring causes were more than sufficient to effect the disgrace of this minister. The king, on pretence of satisfying the people, deprived him of the office of chancellor, and Sir Orlando Bridgeman was appointed keeper of the great seal.

The parliament assembling in October, presented an address to his majesty, thanking him for having disbanded the forces which had been levied for the defence of the kingdom, when the Dutch fleet insulted the coasts; for having dismissed all the papists from his guards, and other military employments; and in particular, for having taken the office of high chancellor from the earl of Clarendon. To this article he replied, that he would never employ him for the future in any public affair. He not only withdrew his protection from the earl, but even

The commons impeach that nobleman of high-treason.

A. C. 1667, even influenced the commons to impeach him of high-treason. They accused him of having advised the king to maintain an army, dissolve the parliament, and render himself absolute: of having said the king was a papist: of having sold illegal patents, and granted injunctions to stop the ordinary course of justice: of having banished several persons in an unlawful manner: of having received bribes on different occasions, and enriched his family, by obtaining grants for them of the crown-lands: of having frustrated useful designs for the preservation of English and the reduction of French colonies: of having corresponded with Oliver Cromwell and his accomplices: of having advised and been instrumental in the sale of Dunkirk: of having altered a patent after it had received the sanction of the great seal: of having extorted money by writs of "Quo warranto" from many corporations, immediately after their charters had been confirmed by parliament: of having abused and betrayed his majesty, by discovering his secrets to the enemy: and of having advised the fatal separation of the fleet, which in the late war had well nigh been attended with the loss of one part of his majesty's navy.

He with-
draws him-
self from
the king-
dom.

When the commons delivered these articles of accusation at the bar of the upper-house, they desired that the earl of Clarendon might be taken into custody: but the lords refused to commit him upon such a general accusation. This refusal gave rise to a violent dispute between the two houses. At length the commons voted that the lords, in refusing to commit the earl of Clarendon on their impeachment, had stopped the course of justice, and formed a precedent of evil and dangerous consequence. The earl knowing how obnoxious he was to the commons, and conscious that the court was determined on his ruin, resolved to withdraw himself

himself from the kingdom. The duke of York A. C. 1667. had supported him with all his interest, both in the cabinet and the house of peers. He had even entered so warmly into his defence, as to give umbrage to the king, who at length desired him to tell the earl that he would do well to retire into another country, in which case he might still receive marks of his favour. It was in consequence of this intimation that he crossed the sea to France, where he spent the remainder of his life in reviewing and reducing to order the materials he had collected for the history of the great rebellion; a performance so justly celebrated for the candid representation of facts, and the striking touches of characters which it contains.

From Calais he sent an apology, addressed to the house of peers, in which he protested, that he had never received the value of a farthing from any person whatsoever, above the common perquisites of his office, exclusive of the king's bounty: that, as a minister, he had never taken any step without the concurrence of the privy-council: that he had dissuaded the king from engaging in the last war against Holland: that he had never offered any private advice to his majesty, touching the negotiation for peace; nor written any letters or instructions, but by the express order of the king and council: that, in quality of chancellor, he had often refused to put the great seal to patents, grants, and pardons, which had been unfairly obtained of his majesty, and were afterwards recalled upon his representations; and by this conduct he had brought upon himself a great number of enemies: that, by joining the earl of Southampton, in representing to the king that, in many extravagant articles, his expence far exceeded his revenue, he had intailed upon himself the enmity and ill offices of some persons in great credit: but that he had

Sends an apology to the house of lords;

A. C. 1667. never intermeddled with the management of his majesty's revenues, nor ever received a present from any prince, except the books of the Louvre edition, which the chancellor of France had sent to him, by the command of his master. The lords having received this apology, deputed the duke of Buckingham to deliver it to the other house; and when he performed this task, "Gentlemen, " (said he) the lords have ordered me to put into your " hands this scandalous and seditious libel sent to " them by the earl of Clarendon. I have orders " to present it to your house, and to desire you will " send it back with your convenience; for, as it " is written in a stile very agreeable to their lord- " ships, they are desirous of preserving it care- " fully." The commons were incensed at this apology. Many virulent expressions were uttered against the earl: they voted it a scandalous and malicious libel, and ordered it to be burned by the hands of the common executioner. The lords sent down to the commons a bill for banishing the earl of Clarendon. The lower house proposed a bill of attainder, and a warm dispute ensued. At last the lower house passed the first bill, to which the king gave his assent with uncommon satisfaction. Such was the unworthy fate of Sir Edward Hyde earl of Clarendon, lord chancellor of England, a nobleman of unblemished virtue, an incorruptible judge, and an able minister, of equal attachment and integrity*.

and is ban-
ished by
act of par-
liament.

Triple alli-
ance be-
tween Eng-
land, Hol-
land, and
Sweden.

In the month of January, the king resolved in council to form a triple alliance with the States-general and the king of Sweden, to hinder the French king from finishing the conquest of the Spanish Netherlands: These he invaded on the

* In the month of October, the first stone of the Royal Exchange, which king went in procession, and laid the was finished with great expedition.

death of his father-in-law Philip IV. though he had formerly renounced all pretensions to the Spanish succession, before his marriage was solemnized. Lewis was the most powerful, as well as the most ambitious prince in Europe. He had already subdued Aeth, Tournay, Lille, Oudenarde, Courtray, and Charleroi. He was at the head of forty thousand men, commanded by the best generals of the age: he waited for nothing but the death of Charles II. who was a weakly prince, to lay claim to that monarchy; and he seemed to aim at universal empire. All the states of Europe were alarmed at his greatness. The Dutch were immediately exposed to his designs, from the nature of their situation, and wished for nothing more than an opportunity of uniting with England in a confederacy that should be able to oppose a sufficient barrier to the ambition of Lewis. The king of England finding his reputation and credit on the decline among his own subjects, was willing to take some step that might retrieve his popularity; and nothing was so likely to produce this effect as his becoming the head of a league for supporting the balance of power in Europe. He therefore dispatched Sir William Temple to the Hague, as ambassador-extraordinary, with full power to conclude such a treaty with the States-general; and they received the overture so favourably, that in five days the alliance was concluded. In a very little time, the king of Sweden acceded to it, as a principal, and thus was formed, "The triple alliance," by which the contracting powers assumed to themselves the office of arbiters in the differences between France and Spain, with respect to the Low-countries, as well as in the war between Spain and Portugal. The design of it was to support the Spanish monarchy, restrain the exorbitant power

A. C. 1667.

Burnet.
D'Estrades,
Rapin.

A. C. 1668.

A. C. 1668. power of France, and prevent a dreadful war, in which all Europe would probably have been involved. It was therefore generally applauded, and seemed to be in all respects the wisest measure which was taken in England during the whole reign of Charles II. Sir William Temple afterwards concluded a treaty of commerce with the States-general; and a peace between Spain and Portugal was happily effected under the guaranty of the English monarchy.

The commons become refractory.

When the parliament met in February, the king informed them of these transactions, demanded a speedy supply for equipping a fleet, and fortifying the maritime parts of the kingdom; and earnestly desired they would deliberate upon ways and means for effecting an union with respect to religion among all his protestant subjects. The commons were so offended at the king's lenity towards nonconformists, that they did not even thank him for the triple alliance. On the contrary, they appointed a committee to examine the conduct of several persons who were supposed to have misbehaved in the late war. They inquired into the affair of Berghen in Norway, the separation of the fleet under prince Rupert and the duke of Albemarle; the presumption of Brouncker, in giving false orders, while the duke of York was asleep; the neglect of maintaining a sufficient fleet, during the last year of the war; and the disgrace occasioned by the Dutch when they entered Chatham river. The king began to be extremely uneasy at this spirit of inquiry, which was raised as a reproach upon the errors of his own administration. He solicited them to discuss the business of the supply. They petitioned him to put the laws in execution against conventicles, papists, and nonconformists; and he published a proclamation for this purpose.

At

At this juncture a violent dispute arose between the two houses, concerning one Skinner a merchant in London, who had complained to the house of peers, of some injury he had received from the East-India company. The lords having examined the case, decreed that the company should pay five thousand pounds by way of damages to the complainant. The commons, in consequence of a petition from the company, committed Skinner to prison, for having addressed himself to the house of peers in an affair that related to the common law of the kingdom. The lords declared the company's petition a scandalous libel. Several ineffectual conferences were held between the two houses. At last the commons voted, that whosoever should aid and assist, in executing the sentence of the lords, should be deemed guilty of having betrayed the rights and liberties of the commons of England, and of having violated the privileges of parliament. Then they granted three hundred and ten thousand pounds to his majesty, to be raised by a tax upon wine and other liquors; the parliament was adjourned, and afterwards prorogued till the month of October in the following year.

A. C. 1668.
Violent disputes between the two houses on account of Skinner.

The triple alliance was founded upon an alternative which Lewis XIV. had proposed to the court of Spain. He offered to relinquish the rights of his queen, provided the court of Spain would either consent to his keeping the conquests he had already made in the Low-countries; or, in lieu of these, cede to him Franche-comté, with the towns of Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer. The queen-regent of Spain had kept aloof, in hope of engaging the States-general and the king of England in a war against Lewis: but finding that the contracting powers of the triple alliance proposed only to take arms in case the French king should recede from

A. C. 1668. his alternative, she consented to his keeping his acquisitions in the Low-countries, on the supposition that the English and Dutch would be indispensibly obliged to engage in a war with France, should she ever attempt to extend her conquests in the Netherlands. After this declaration of Spain, no other obstacle remained to retard a pacification. Aix-la-Chapelle was the place pitched upon for the meeting of the plenipotentiaries, who were immediately sent thither from France, Spain, England, Holland, and Sweden. The treaty was signed in May, after a very short negotiation. Lewis remained in possession of all the towns in Flanders, which he had reduced. He restored Franche-comté to the crown of Spain; and the peace was guaranteed by the powers concerned in the triple alliance. The Dutch ordered a medal to be struck, with a pompous inscription, in which they arrogated to themselves the whole honour of having given peace to Europe. Joshua Van Beuningen, their plenipotentiary at Aix-la-Chapelle, was vain enough to strike another, in which he compared himself to Joshua stopping the course of the sun, which was the device of the French monarch. These, and other such unseasonable marks of pride, gave umbrage to Lewis, who seemed to remember them in the sequel, when he found an opportunity to punish their presumption. The king of England continued to enjoy his pleasures without restraint. During the summer he made excursions to different parts of the kingdom. He sent a squadron of ships into the Mediterranean, under the command of Sir Thomas Allen, who compelled the Algerines to subscribe a peace that was very advantageous to England. The office of treasurer of the household was conferred upon Sir Thomas Clifford. The command of the horse-guards the king bestowed upon

Treaty between
France and
Spain at
Aix-la-
Chapelle.

Rapin.

upon his natural son the duke of Monmouth; and Sir John Trevor was appointed secretary of state, in the room of Morris, who resigned *.

A. C. 1669.

Whether Charles was willing to reconcile himself to the presbyterians, who constituted a powerful body in the nation, or the duke of Buckingham, who had now great influence in the council, resolved to forward a step which he knew would be disagreeable to the duke of Ormond, whom he hated, uncommon favour was now shewn to that sect, which had been so much depressed since the restoration. They appeared more openly, and even ventured to assemble at their religious worship. Sir Orlando Bridgeman sent for two of their ministers, and consulted them about means for comprehending the presbyterians in the body of the English church, as well as for procuring an indulgence for independents and other nonconformists. These two ministers having conferred with the like number of the English church, after several meetings and various disputes, agreed, That with respect to ordination, all nonconformists, already ordained, might be admitted into the ministry of the church, by virtue of this form, "Take thou legal authority to preach the word of God, and administer the holy sacrament in any congregation of England, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto." They likewise agreed, That ceremonies should be left indifferent: That the liturgy should be altered: That those who could not be comprehended should be indulged:

Plan for comprehending the presbyterian ministers in the English church.

* In the month of March, Cosmo de Medicis prince of Tuscany arrived in England, in the course of his travels, and was received with all the honours due to his rank and particular merit. After his departure, the king was visited by prince George of Den-

mark, who made but a very short stay in England.

In July, the university of Oxford opened the magnificent theatre, built at the expence of Dr Sheldon archbishop of Canterbury, their chancellor; though he afterwards resigned this dignity to the duke of Ormond.

A. C. 1669. and, That, for the security of the government, the names of the teachers, and all the members of the congregation, should be registered. The lord chief-justice Hales undertook to draw up a bill for this purpose, and the keeper of the great-seal promised to support it in parliament with his whole interest. Archbishop Sheldon being apprised of their design, wrote a circular letter to all his suffragans, enjoining them to make an exact inquiry touching all the conventicles that were held within their respective dioceses. Having received all the information he could procure on this subject, he exaggerated every circumstance to the king; and obtained, from his easy indolent disposition, a proclamation, ordering the laws against nonconformist-ministers to be put in execution. Nevertheless, Charles gave the leading presbyterians to understand, that he had designs in their favour; and desired they would present a petition to him for indulgence. He went into the apartment of the earl of Arlington, on purpose to receive this address, to which he returned a very gracious answer.

The commons set on foot an inquiry against the nonconformists.

When the parliament met after the prorogation, the king, in a short speech, demanded a supply for the discharge of his debts; and recommended the union of the two kingdoms. The lord-keeper expatiated on the same subjects: but the commons, instead of taking these articles into consideration, resolved to examine the public accounts, that they might know in what manner the money granted by parliament had been expended. In the course of this inquiry, they found the books kept by the chamberlain Sir George Carteret, in such confusion, that they expelled him from the house. Then they thanked the king, in an address, for the proclamation he had published against conventicles; and appointed a committee to make exact inquiry concerning the conduct of the nonconformists.

These

These having received a great number of informations, reported, that divers conventicles and seditious assemblies were held in the neighbourhood of the parliament, so as to insult the government, and endanger the public tranquillity: the house immediately declared, That they would adhere to his majesty for the support of the government in church and state, against all sorts of adversaries. The commons revived the dispute concerning Skipper and the East-India company; and passed several votes, which the house of lords considered as so many violations of their privileges. Their mutual animosity seemed every day to increase: so that the king seeing no prospect of an accommodation, and knowing he had nothing to expect from the commons, until this affair could be compromised, prorogued the parliament to the month of February.

The parliament of Scotland being opened in November by the earl of Lauderdale, as king's commissioner, passed an act, asserting and explaining the king's supremacy in such terms as rendered him absolute in all ecclesiastical affairs. The next act concerned the militia, decreeing, That it should be maintained, and ready to march into any part of the king's dominions, for any cause in which his majesty's authority, power, or greatness should be concerned; and that it should receive orders from the council board of Scotland. This clause was contrived by Lauderdale, for the immediate service of the king, should he ever have occasion for using the Scots against his subjects of England. The militia might be ordered to march without his appearing to countenance their motions; so that he could, with the better grace, disown them, should they miscarry in their expedition.

In February, the king, in a speech to both houses, renewed his demand of a supply, in the most

A. C. 1669.

Proceedings
in the Scot-
tish parlia-
ment.

Echard:
Burnet.
Rapin.

A. C. 1669. most earnest manner. He assured them he had found, upon examination of his accounts, that far from having misapplied the money granted for the expence of the war, he had, on the contrary, for the support of it, contracted large debts on his own revenue. He then recommended harmony among themselves; and desired they would deliberate upon a plan for uniting the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The lord-keeper enlarged upon the king's text. The commons voted, That a sufficient sum should be granted, to ease the king of his incumbrances. For this purpose a duty was laid upon wine and vinegar; and his majesty was authorized to part with his fee-farm and quit-rents. These two funds were thought sufficient to produce one million seven hundred thousand pounds sterling, a sum by no means adequate to the king's necessities*. The quarrel between the two houses being kindled a-new, Charles, who began to be apprehensive of the consequences, summoned the parliament to Whitehall, where he proposed that this unhappy division should never be mentioned; and that the proceedings relating to it should be erased from the journals of both houses. They consented to the expedient; and the flame was at once extinguished.

The king mediates an accommodation between the two houses.

A severe act against conventicles. The first effect of their accommodation was a joint-address to his majesty, petitioning, That he would give effectual orders for suppressing conventicles, and executing the laws against popish recusants. Charles, though in his own nature averse to persecution, was too irresolute to withstand the

* This year was rendered remarkable by the death of the queen-mother, and that of George Monk, duke of Albemarle. The first died in August, at Paris, in the sixtieth year of her age; and the duke dying in London, was succeeded in his title and estate by his son Christopher. In the course of this year likewise died the famous Pryn, the puritan, author of above two hundred volumes, the contents of which are little known and less esteemed.

zeal of his parliament; and therefore gave his assent to this act, which declared an assembly consisting of seventeen dissenters, a conventicle, provided they met to worship God in any other form than that which was practised in the church of England, even though ten of that number should belong to the family in whose house they might be assembled. Every individual was fined in five shillings for the first offence, and ten for the second. The preacher was condemned in twenty pounds for the first conviction, and in double that sum for the next; and a fine of twenty pounds was decreed against the person in whose house they should be found assembled.

Hitherto, Charles seems to have studied nothing so much as his own ease and convenience. Without doubt, he inherited high notions of the prerogative, which were cherished by the nature of his education. But his father's fate and his own sufferings had rendered him extremely cautious of quarrelling with his parliament; and his indolent disposition was an unsurmountable bar to the execution of any design upon the liberties of the people. He had immersed himself in pleasure, and would not have sacrificed his private enjoyment to the most flattering prospect of arbitrary power, if his revenue had been sufficient to supply the channels of his prodigality. Though the commons were attached to him from principle, and had been liberal, if we compare their grants with those of former parliaments; yet, considering the late increase of wealth and luxury in almost every court of Europe, his supplies were rather scanty than affluent; and his profuse expence rendered him a beggarly dependent upon the bounty of the commons. His necessities continually invaded his repose. He was incessantly importuned by suitors whom he could not gratify. He was roused by the
more

Account of
the cabal.

A. C. 1650. more active spirit of his brother, who exhorted him to rise above those humble solicitations he had hitherto practised to his parliament for daily subsistence. He was beset by some desperate counsellors, who importuned and encouraged him to assert his own independence in subduing that insolent usurpation which the rebellious subject had raised on the ruins of regal authority. Prince Rupert, the duke of Ormond, lord-keeper Bridgeman, and secretary Trevor, men in whose honour and integrity the nation had confidence, were now seldom or never summoned to the cabinet-council; but the king was wholly conducted by the advice of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, a junto distinguished by the appellation of "The cabal," a word formed by the initial letters of their names. Sir Thomas Clifford was a man of an enterprising genius, rendered the more dangerous by the talent of eloquence and the spirit of intrigue which he possessed. Lord Ashley, afterwards raised to the earldom of Shaftsbury, had been a member of the long-parliament, of great influence among the presbyterians: he insinuated himself into the confidence of Cromwell; and afterwards employed his credit in forwarding the restoration. By his uncommon talents, he acquired great weight with every party he espoused. He was turbulent, restless, ambitious, subtle, and enterprising: he had conquered all sense of shame; was restrained by no fears, and influenced by no principle. The duke of Buckingham was a gay, capricious nobleman, of some wit, and great vivacity; the minister of riot; the slave of intemperance; a pretended atheist, without honour, principle, œconomy, or discretion. Arlington possessed a very moderate capacity, and was not remarkable for any vicious habit, though he wanted
inte-

integrity and resolution to withstand the temptations of his colleagues. Lauderdale was learned, awkward, obstinate, ambitious, passionate even to frenzy, vindictive, implacable, insolent, and abject. Such were the individuals that constituted the cabal; and the duke of York assisted at their councils. They represented to the king, that even this parliament, so remarkably attached to the crown, had already exhibited some symptoms of discontent; that they had been penurious in their temporary supplies, and kept his revenue in a very precarious situation. They observed, that his father's great error consisted in his having neglected to form alliances with powerful princes who would have supported him against his rebellious subjects; that his kinsman, the king of France, if properly cultivated, would enter into such engagements with him as would raise him above all fear of revolt; that a war with Holland, undertaken in conjunction with Lewis, would be productive of every advantage he could desire to enjoy: that he should be able to ruin the Dutch, whose power, affluence, and principles encouraged and supported republicans in England; that he would be enriched with the spoils of the enemy, as well as by subsidies which he might receive from the French monarch: that the war would furnish him with a pretence for raising forces and equipping a navy that would enable him to retrieve the lost power of the crown, and even extend his prerogative to absolute dominion. These suggestions could not be disagreeable to a prince like Charles, who dreaded or despised more than one half of his subjects, who found himself in a very uneasy state of dependence, hated the Dutch as the enemies of monarchy, and felt a strong propensity to the religion of Rome, which at present he durst not avow.

Colbert

A. C. 1670.

Charles is
visited by
his sister the
dutchess of
Orleans.

Colbert de Croissy, the French ambassador at London, had already founded the inclinations of the king and his cabal, touching an alliance with his master; and he found them very favourably disposed, when he understood the design of Lewis was to humble the pride of the States-general. After Colbert had thus paved the way for a negotiation, the king of France went to see his new works at Dunkirk; and was accompanied by the dutchess of Orleans, who took this opportunity of being in the neighbourhood of England to visit her brother Charles. She landed in May at Dover, where she was received by the king and all his court; and there they enjoyed each other's company for a fortnight, in a continual round of diversions. She was one of the most amiable princesses of the age in which she lived, and loved her brother with the warmest affection; but she is supposed to have been vested with a private commission, to assure Charles that the king of France would enable him to shake off the yoke of parliament, and restore the catholic religion in England, as soon as the Dutch should be sufficiently humbled by their joint endeavours. If he retained any scruples about the execution of this scheme, Lewis could not have fixed upon more effectual expedients to remove them than those he now practised. The dutchess of Orleans was a young lady of the most insinuating address, and had great influence with her brother: besides, the French king resolved to bind him down to his engagements by the bonds of pleasure. For this purpose, he sent over with the dutchess, mademoiselle de Queroüaille, a young lady of extraordinary beauty and accomplishments, which instantly captivated the heart of Charles. She accompanied him to London, was created dutchess of Portsmouth, and main-
tained

tained her empire over him during the whole course of his life. She kept him firm to his connexions with France, and continued to be the reigning favourite, while his former mistress, lady Cleveland, was raised to the dignity of dutchess, as a recompence for the influence she had lost. A. C. 1670

The good understanding between the kings of France and England had well nigh been blasted in the bud, by an incident which made a deep impression on the mind of Charles. The dutchess of Orleans, immediately after her return to France, happened to swallow a glass of succory-water, by the direction of her physicians; and was immediately seized with violent agonies, of which she expired. She was supposed to have fallen a sacrifice to the jealousy of her husband, who seemed to take umbrage at the gaiety of her disposition, and intimacy of friendship subsisting between her and his brother Lewis XIV. She certainly believed herself poisoned; though she was restrained by her confessor from owning her suspicion to Mr. Montague the English ambassador in France, who was present at her death. She died with great resolution, declaring she felt no regret at leaving the world, but that of parting with her brother Charles, whom she loved with the most tender affection. When the news of this tragedy were brought to Whitehall by Sir Thomas Armitrong, who, at the same time, communicated the suspicion of her having been poisoned, the king melted in a flood of tears, and expressed his indignation against the duke of Orleans, in the most bitter terms of reproach. But he soon checked his passion, and said, "Thomas, I beg you will not mention a syllable of this matter." The court of France was in great confusion at this event. The report of the poison was immediately circulated through the city of Paris, and Lewis was afraid it would destroy

Sudden death of that princess.

A. C. 1670.stroy the connexion between him and the king of England. He sent over the marquis de Bellefonds, to condole with Charles; and this nobleman was furnished with the attestations of the physicians, who declared, that the dutchefs died of a natural distemper. The king was, or pretended to be, satisfied with these testimonies; and the duke of Buckingham, on pretence of carrying compliments of condolence to the duke of Orleans, was dispatched to France, with power to sign the treaty which had been negotiated by the dutchefs.

Sir William Temple recalled from Holland.

Lewis, in the month of September, sent the marechal de Crequi with a body of forces into Lorraine, of which he took possession. The duke having been surpris'd, escap'd with difficulty, and implored the intercession of Charles, whom he had assisted in his exile; but the answer he received, was, "That there was no remedy like patience." The parliament meeting in October, the king, by the mouth of the lord-keeper, gave them to understand, that as the fleets of France and Holland were lately increased to a very formidable degree, it was necessary that he should maintain a respectable navy; and therefore he had ordered fifty large ships to be put in commission, besides the squadron already in the Mediterranean: that even, though he had not engag'd to succour his allies in case of necessity, it would be very imprudent to sit aloof, and tamely see so many clouds gathering, without providing some shelter against the impending storm. He mentioned the treaties which had been lately concluded with the kings of France, Spain, Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, the States-general, and the duke of Savoy. He observed, that the yearly expence of the fleet amounted to five hundred thousand pounds: That the remaining part of the revenue was not sufficient to pay the interest of the debts which the king had
con-

contracted; and, That the present armament would cost eight hundred thousand pounds. - Finally, he assured them the king would prorogue the parliament at Christmas; and desired they would regulate their measures accordingly. The commons, dazzled by the great alliances the king had contracted for the honour and advantage of the nation, resolved to gratify him in all his demands. They began to prepare bills for raising two millions five hundred thousand pounds; but, before they could be brought to perfection, the king adjourned the parliament. By this time Sir William Temple, who resided as ambassador at the Hague, was recalled to London, the king and his ministers knowing he had too much integrity and love for his country, to act as an instrument of the cabal. At first, he was ordered to leave his wife and family in Holland, as if the king intended he should return; but De Wit was not a dupe to this artifice. He suspected the designs of the two monarchs; and desired the Dutch resident at London to inform the ministry, that he would look upon Temple's being recalled as an infallible proof of a change of measures at the court of England. In the preceding winter the prince of Orange, being then twenty years of age, arrived at London, and was affectionately received by his uncle. His voyage was undertaken with a view to demand the payment of the sums which the late prince had advanced for Charles and his father; and to solicit the king's interest and good offices towards his being advanced to the dignity of stadtholder. He received nothing but civil entertainment and general promises, which Charles had no intention to perform; though he tampered with his nephew about religion, and talked of the protestants as a broken, divided faction.

The commons, after a short adjournment, passed the Coventry-act, by which the practice of main-

Barnet.
Montague's
letters.
Rapin.
Hume.

A. C. 1670.

A. C. 1671.

The commons pass the Coventry act.

ing was made a capital crime. This law derived its origin from an outrage committed upon a member of parliament. A proposal having been made in the house for laying a tax upon play-houses, it was opposed by the courtiers, one of whom observed, that the players were the king's servants, and part of his pleasure. Sir John Coventry asked, whether his majesty's pleasure lay among the male or the female players; and this sarcasm was considered as an insolent violation of that respect due to the kingly name, which had been hitherto religiously preserved in all parliamentary disputes. It was the more disagreeable to Charles, as he then publicly maintained Gwyn and Davis, two concubines who had been chosen from the theatre. The duke of Monmouth, therefore, undertook to make a public example of Coventry. This gentleman, in going to his own lodgings at night, was attacked in the street by Sands, O'Brien, and some other officers of the guards. He forthwith snatched a flambeau from his servant with one hand, and managed his sword so gallantly with the other, that he wounded three or four of the assailants, before he was overpowered and disarmed: then his nose was purposely cut to the bone, as a lesson to teach him what respect he owed to the king's character. The commons, exasperated at this assault upon a member for words spoken in the house, not only enacted the law abovementioned, but also inserted a clause, importing, That those who attacked Sir John Coventry should not be intitled to the benefit of a pardon from the crown. The lower house, with the concurrence of the lords, presented an address to the king, on the progress of popery, representing the cause of its increase; and the means by which it might be restrained for the future. Charles assured them he would exert all his power for their satisfaction; but said, they could not think it strange,

strange, that he should make some distinction between the papists who had lately embraced the catholic religion, and those who had not only been born and educated in that persuasion, but also faithfully served his father and him in their adversity. The commons then proceeded upon the supplies: they brought in a bill for a land-tax, another for an additional excise upon beer, and a third for taxing law-suits for a certain number of years. The king had for some time made a practice of going to the house of peers, without formality, on presence of hearing the debates for his amusement, though his real design was to influence their deliberations.

When the first of the bills sent up by the commons was read in the upper house, lord Lucas rose up, and in the king's hearing, pronounced a severe speech, complaining, that since the restoration, the burdens laid upon the subject were much more grievous than at any former time, while the strength of the kingdom had visibly diminished; that great sums granted to the king had been employed to enrich a few individuals, who had kept aloof from him in the day of trouble; while those who had suffered the heat of the day, undergoing imprisonments, sequestrations, and exposing their lives for his majesty's service, were reduced to poverty and contempt. He said the nation was in some respects more miserable than if it were actually subdued by a victorious enemy; for, in that case, the people would know the worst of their misfortune; a circumstance that would in some measure alleviate their affliction: but at present the subject was kept in the most perplexing uncertainty, in giving to-day, they did not know but that they should be obliged to give twice as much to-morrow, until they should be entirely exhausted. It

Bold speech
of lord
Lucas.

A. C. 1672 would be necessary therefore to make some sort of estimation; to ascertain what every man might call his own: for his own part, should it be found necessary, he would consent to give one half of his substance to the king, provided he could be secured in the possession of the remainder. He added, that the bills brought in by the commons would raise three millions; an enormous subsidy. He therefore proposed, that the lords should moderate the excessive liberality of the lower house, by reducing the rate of the land-tax: for, if they had not power to retrench the extravagance of such impositions, they might say they had nothing; and that their whole substance was at the disposal of the commons. This bold speech, which was printed and published, gave such umbrage to the king, that, in consequence of his request, the peers ordered it to be burned by the hands of the hangman, as a libel upon lord Lucas; because, when the paper was presented to him, and he was questioned about it, he owned part of it only. Nevertheless it had made a strong impression upon the lords, who sent back the bill with amendments. These were rejected by the commons; and a dispute ensued; but at last the lords submitted; and the bills were passed.

Dispute between the two houses.

The lords agreed likewise to the tax upon law-proceedings: but they refused to pass a fourth, for laying an additional duty on certain commodities. The merchants of London petitioned against it, as an insupportable burden on trade; and the upper house proposed amendments. The commons affirmed that the lords had no right to amend money-bills; these denied the assertion. The dispute grew warm. The commons claimed the sole right of regulating the taxes, by virtue of a fundamental law. The lords desired them to produce that law; and

and they answered they would find it on the back of the "Magna Charta." These successive conferences served only to inflame their mutual animosity, which became so violent that the king found it necessary to prorogue the parliament; and, for a year and nine months, it was kept from reassembling, by means of repeated prorogations.

In the month of March, the duke of York lost his dutchess, Anne Hyde, daughter of the earl of Clarendon, by whom he had eight children, two of whom survived; namely, Mary afterwards princess of Orange, and Anne, who lived to sway the scepter of England. The dutchess had, during her last illness, embraced the Roman catholic religion; and, soon after her death, the duke made a solemn abjuration of the protestant heresy, to father Simons, an English jesuit. He had been converted during his exile, and was generally known to be a catholic in his heart, though hitherto he had not made open profession of his religious principles; on the contrary, he pretended to adhere to the church of England. The king had long entertained the design of procuring a divorce from Catharine, in hope of having legitimate issue by another consort. Buckingham had proposed infamous means for ruining her reputation, in such a manner that she might have been charged with breach of conjugal faith; but these expedients the king rejected with horror. He believed the marriage might be declared null, on account of her being barren, or incapable of bearing children; and the pope was sounded on this subject. The jesuits in England knowing of what consequence such a divorce might be to the duke of York, pressed him to declare his religion, threatening, that unless he would make that sacrifice to his conscience, they would use all their influence to procure the pope's consent to the king's divorce from

The duke of York abjures the protestant religion.

A. C. 1671. Catharine. The duke for some time refused to take a step which he knew would render him odious to the greater part of the English nation; but finding the jesuits were actually employed in putting these threats in execution, he agreed to make a formal abjuration of the protestant religion, on condition that they would obstruct the divorce.

The cabal
resolve upon
a war with
Holland.

The immediate views of the cabal at this juncture were directed to a war with Holland; it was therefore necessary to break the triple alliance, and find a pretext for beginning hostilities. Sir Henry Coventry was dispatched as ambassador to Sweden; and Sir George Downing sent to the Hague, in the room of Sir William Temple. De Wit knew this minister to be a turbulent firebrand, and an inveterate enemy to the republic; he therefore considered the change as an infallible sign of an approaching rupture. Downing, at his arrival in Holland, solemnly protested that his master was determined to adhere scrupulously to the triple alliance; and that he had no other reason for equipping a fleet, but that of rendering himself respectable among his neighbours, and guarding against the designs of the French king, whom he had great reason to distrust. At the same time he complained of the backwardness of the Dutch, in fulfilling the article of the last treaty relating to Surinam; and mentioned some causes of difference between the English merchants and their East-India company. The captain of a yacht sent to bring over the wife and family of Sir William Temple from the Hague, was ordered by the admiralty to go in quest of the Dutch fleet, and fire upon them should they refuse to pay the compliment to the flag of England. This officer did not fall in with them until lady Temple and her children were on board: then he sailed through the midst of a squadron commanded by Van Ghent; and, as they did not lower their
topsails,

top-sails, discharged his cannon at them without hesitation. The Dutch admiral, surpris'd at this extravagance, sent an officer to expostulate with him upon such extraordinary conduct. He replied, that he acted according to orders. Then Van Ghent going on board of his yacht, on pretence of paying his compliments to lady Temple, told him, that although the States-general had engaged by treaty to pay the compliment to the English flag, he could not expect that a large fleet, commanded by an admiral, would lower their top-sails to a single vessel, which was not even a ship of war, but a private boat for pleasure or dispatch. The captain departed without further disputes; yet, though he had fired several guns loaded with shot at them, and been saluted by the Dutch admiral, he no sooner arriv'd in England, than he was committed prisoner to the Tower for not having sufficiently asserted the honour of his majesty. This was another slight pretence for demanding satisfaction of the States-general.

How far Charles respected his honour at home, we may learn by an incident of a singular nature, that occurred about this period. There was a desperate ruffian of the name of Blood, rendered infamous by the practice of robbery and assassination. He had undertaken to surpris'e the castle of Dublin, while the duke of Ormond was viceroy of Ireland: but he failed in the attempt, and some of his accomplices being hanged, he swore their death should be revenged. He followed the duke into England; and one night, while that nobleman was in his coach returning to Clarendon-house where he lodged, Blood, with eight accomplices well mounted, stopped the carriage. He murdered the coachman and one of the servants, then set the duke on horseback, behind one of the gang, that he might be conveyed to Tyburn, and put to an

*Account of
Blood who
attempted to
steal the
crown.*

A. C. 1621. ignominious death, purposing to leave his body hanging on the gibbet, with a paper fixed to his breast, explaining the cause of his execution. They had already made a considerable progress in this expedition, when the duke, making an effort to disengage himself, fell from the horse, together with the assassin, to whom he had been tied; while they lay struggling together on the ground, Ormond's domestics, who had been by this time alarmed, rode up to his assistance; and Blood, with his crew having discharged their pistols at the duke, escaped by favour of the darkness. He afterwards formed a scheme for carrying off the regalia from the Tower of London; and executed it so far, that he had actually seized the crown, and passed out at the Tower-gate, with three accomplices, after having left Edwards the keeper of the jewel office, seemingly dead of the wounds he received in defending his trust. Nevertheless, he alarmed the guards, and the ruffians were apprehended. One of them was immediately known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond, which was now laid to the charge of Blood; and he frankly owned himself author of that enterprize, but he refused to discover his accomplices, saying, the fear of death should never prompt him to deny a crime, or betray an associate. This desperado, who had been a soldier in Cromwell's army, behaved with such remarkable intrepidity and contempt of life, that the king was seized with an emotion of curiosity to see such a phenomenon; and Blood knew how to turn this circumstance to his advantage. He told his majesty, that on account of the severity which had been exercised over the consciences of the godly, he had once resolved to kill the king with a carbine, in a place near Battersea, where Charles used to bathe in the river: that with this view he had actually concealed him-
self

self among the needs; but his spirits were so damped with the awe of majesty, that he relented, and laid aside his design. He said he looked upon life and death with the most absolute indifference; but gave the king to understand, that his associates had bound themselves together by the most solemn oaths, to revenge the death of any individual of the confederacy, that might fall into the hands of justice; and that no power upon earth could baffle the efforts of their desperate resolution. The king, though he affected admiration at this man's boldness, was in all probability alarmed with the fear of assassination, and on that motive pardoned the malefactor; though not before he had obtained the consent of Ormond, who granted it in the most gallant manner. Blood was not only pardoned, but gratified with an estate of five hundred pounds a year in Ireland. He lived in great familiarity with the king, and affected to be seen frequently in the same apartment with the duke of Ormond; while Edwards, who had run the risque of his life in preventing Blood's felonious purpose, though in the eightieth year of his age, reaped no reward for his fidelity and valour, except the promise of two hundred pounds which he did not live to enjoy †.

A. C. 1672.

Burnet.
Rapin.

Arlington's
French letters.
Carte's life
of Ormond.

The contracting parties, in the league against Holland, had agreed that the French king, the elector of Cologne, and the bishop of Munster, should fall upon the territories of the States-general in three different places, while the combined fleets of France and England should attack their navy, and distress their commerce. Nothing retarded the commencement of hostilities, but the indigence of Charles: though he had received two millions five hundred thousand pounds from parliament, and

A. C. 1672.

The exchequer is shut.

† In the course of this year died had been generals against the late the famous lord Fairfax, and the earl king, were afterwards instrumental of Manchester; who, though they in his son's restoration.

A. C. 1672. seven hundred thousand livres by stipulation from the king of France, he still found himself in necessity. He gave his ministry to understand, that he could not begin the war without a further supply of five hundred thousand pounds; and as he could not have recourse to the parliament, which was prorogued, he promised to confer the office of treasurer upon him who should contrive a practicable expedient for raising that sum of money. Sir Thomas Clifford happened to be the most fortunate in his invention: he proposed to stop the payments of the exchequer, and convert all the money to his immediate occasions. The scheme was immediately put in execution, and Clifford appointed lord-treasurer. The whole nation was astonished and affrighted at this desperate measure. The bankers, who had lent money to the government, shut up their shops, and refused to accept the draughts of those who kept cash with them; so that many private families were ruined. The merchants could neither answer bills, nor pay duties at the custom-house; so that commerce was interrupted, credit in a great measure destroyed, the public faith violated, universal confusion ensued among the trading part of the nation, and the city of London was filled with clamour and distraction. The king published a declaration, excusing this step as the effect of necessity, arising from the formidable preparations of his neighbours, and promising to do justice to the creditors of the crown. Finding very little regard was paid to his proclamation, he convened the bankers at the Treasury, and assured them from his own mouth, that they should be punctually satisfied, either from the next supplies granted by parliament, or out of his own revenue: he therefore desired they would answer the draughts of the merchants, so that business might flow in its former channel.

The

The cabal had devised another plan for filling the king's coffers; namely that of intercepting the Dutch fleet of merchant ships from Smyrna, valued at fifteen hundred thousand pounds. Sir Robert Holmes was sent on this service, and fell in with Spragge, on his return with a squadron from the Mediterranean: had he been reinforced by this officer, he would certainly have succeeded in his design; but he was resolved to ingross the whole honour and advantage to himself, and allowed Spragge to continue his voyage homewards. He soon descried the Dutch fleet, under convoy of five ships of war, commanded by commodore Van Nefs, who had received some intimation of his design, and put his squadron, with the convoy, into an admirable posture of defence. Holmes attacked them with great impetuosity, on the thirteenth day of March; and all that day they bravely sustained the engagement: it was renewed in the morning, and maintained till night; on the third day, one of the Dutch ships of war was taken, together with three or four inconsiderable trading vessels: the rest continued their course, under the excellent conduct of their commodore; and, by the favour of a thick fog, arrived safely in Holland. The States-general exclaimed loudly against this piratical attempt, which appeared the more dishonourable, as it had proved unsuccessful; the people of England condemned it as an infamous enterprize, and the king himself was ashamed of the undertaking. The ministry pretended that it was no other than a casual rencounter, occasioned by the pride of the Dutch commodore, who refused to strike his topsails in compliment to the English squadron. Nevertheless four Dutch East-India ships, afterwards taken by the English cruisers, were condemned as lawful prize, even before the declaration of the war.

A. C. 1672.

Attempt upon the Dutch fleet from Smyrna.

The

A. C. 1672.

The States-general could hardly believe the king of England was in earnest, until these outrages were committed; then they were convinced, and redoubled their diligence in preparing for a rupture between the two nations. In the mean time Charles, with a view to favour the Roman catholics, by virtue of his supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs, confirmed by divers acts of parliament, issued a proclamation, suspending the penal laws against nonconformists, indulging protestant dissenters with the public exercise of their religion, and allowing the catholics to worship God after their own way in private. This was a large stride towards arbitrary power, so contrary to the sentiments of the parliament, that he would not have ventured to take it, had not he been provided with a powerful fleet, and a new-raised army, at his devotion. His next step was to declare war against the Dutch, for having refused to send home the English families settled in Surinam, as the two nations had stipulated in the treaty of Breda; for having denied the honours due to the English flag; and ridiculed the king and people of England in medals and pictures: such were the frivolous pretences of this iniquitous war. The Dutch justified themselves, by affirming that they had not detained the English families in Surinam, but they had refused to quit the colony; that their admirals were not obliged, by any treaty, to lower their topsails on their own coast to an English pleasure-boat; and that they had never countenanced any pictures or medals that reflected upon the honour of the king or people of England †. Charles, to complete the farce, pretended,

Charles declares war against the Dutch.

† The foundation of this ridiculous charge was a portrait of Cornelius De Wit, the pensionary's brother, painted by order of the magistrates of Dort on the back-ground, the painter had exhibited a representation of ships on fire, supposed to allude to the exploit of the Dutch in the river Medway, in which Cornelius De Wit bore a considerable share.

in his declaration, that he would still faithfully adhere to the purport of the triple alliance. Mean while, he ordered all the Dutch ships that were in English harbours to be seized, contrary to an express article in the treaty of Breda. The Dutch followed his example; but afterwards released them, observing that his breach of faith was not a sufficient reason for their imitating such unjustifiable conduct. After such an uncommon instance of candour and integrity, Charles was ashamed to detain their vessels, the greater part of which was set at liberty. He now, by a stretch of prerogative, suspended the act of navigation, as almost all the seamen in the kingdom were employed in the navy. He issued a proclamation in favour of pressing sailors: in another he threatened all those who should presume to speak irreverently of his conduct, or hear such discourses without informing against the delinquents; and, by an order of council, he established martial law for the regulation of the army. The lord-keeper Bridgeman refusing to affix the seal to the declaration for suspending the penal laws, was removed from his office, and lord Ashley, now earl of Shaftesbury, was appointed lord chancellor of England.

Lewis XIV. in his declaration of war against the Dutch, assigned no other reason than his being dissatisfied with their conduct. The Bishop of Munster declared war against the republic, on pretence of their having attempted to corrupt the governors of his places; and the elector of Cologne admitted a body of French troops into his dominions, under the pretext of providing for his own safety, though De Wit was well apprised of the treaty in which he had engaged. The commonwealth of the United Provinces seemed now devoted to destruction. Lewis was at the head of an army, consisting of one hundred and eighty thousand men, command-
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A. C. 1672.

Distractions
in that re-
public.

ed by the best generals in the world: his subjects were enriched by commerce, under the excellent administration of Colbert; and his finances were managed with admirable oeconomy. The Dutch, on the other hand, were distracted between two powerful factions. De Wit, the chief of the Louvestein party, who had long directed the administration, thought he could not take more effectual means to depress the Orange faction, than those of disbanding great part of the army, dismissing the old officers who were devoted to the family of Orange, and supplying their places with the sons and kinsmen of his own friends, generally raw youths, who had never seen service, were utterly ignorant of discipline, and, for the most part, served by proxy; so that no military spirit remained. The soldiers were despised; the fortifications neglected; and all the valour and discipline of the republic confined to the navy, which was the object of the pensionary's peculiar care and inspection. The States-general at first endeavoured to divert the king of England from his hostile intentions, by concessions and submissions. They consented to honour his flag in any manner he should prescribe; and they appointed his nephew the prince of Orange captain-general and admiral, though he had not yet attained the twenty-third year of his age: but Charles rejected all their advances; he was bent upon the destruction of the republic, without paying the least regard to the interest of his nephew.

Battle of
Solebay.

De Wit had not acted with his usual vigilance, in making preparations for the threatened invasion. He was now sensible of the extreme hazard to which his country was exposed; and resolved to make one powerful effort by sea, while the prince of Orange was employed in making levies, and re-establishing discipline in the army. De Ruyter

was

was sent to sea with a fleet of ninety ships of war, besides forty frigates and fireships, and Cornelius De Wit acted on board as deputy from the States. Their intention was to prevent the junction of the French and English fleets; but this was already effected. They lay at anchor in Solebay, to the number of one hundred and thirty ships of the line. The duke of York commanded in chief; the earl of Sandwich acted as admiral of the blue; and the French squadron was conducted by the marshal De Etrées. They rode at anchor in such disorder, that the earl of Sandwich represented to the duke the danger of their being attacked in that posture; but his advice was neglected, and the answer he received was such as implied a suspicion of his courage. Piqued at this reflection, he resolved, in case of an engagement, to conquer or perish. On the twenty-eighth day of May, the Dutch admiral bore down upon them so suddenly, that they were obliged to cut their cables with the utmost precipitation, in order to form the line; and the whole fleet was in such confusion, that the ships ran foul of one another. The earl of Sandwich made haste to weather the headland, and opposed himself to the enemy that the duke might have time to reduce the rest of the fleet into order. He sustained a most furious attack from the bravest of the enemy. He repulsed the ship of Van Ghent, after that admiral had been killed in the engagement: he destroyed another large ship which attempted to board him; he sunk three fireships before they were near enough to grapple with his rigging. Though six hundred of his men were either killed or wounded, and his ship was dreadfully shattered by the shot of the enemy, he still continued to ply his artillery without ceasing; until another fireship ran him aboard on the quarter. Even then he might have escaped into another vessel; but the duke's

A.C. 1672- duke's sarcasm had made such an impression upon his mind, that he chose rather to die than survive the loss of his ship, which, being blown up, he and every person on board were destroyed. In the mean time the duke of York was attacked by De Ruyten; and they engaged each other so close for two hours, that the Dutch admiral afterwards declared this was the most obstinate of two and thirty actions in which he had been concerned. The duke's ship being disabled, he was obliged to move his flag on board of another, and his division was in danger of being overpowered; when Sir Joseph Jordan who succeeded Sandwich, came to his assistance. The battle being thus restored, continued till night, when the Dutch retired. Victory declared for neither side, though it was claimed by both nations. The French squadron was very little engaged; and, in all probability, the marshal De Etrées had orders to keep off, that the two maritime powers might destroy one another.

Progress of
the French
king in the
United Pro-
vinces.

Lewis had by this time invaded the territories of the States-general on the side of Germany. He passed the Meuse at Viset, reduced Orsoi, Burck, Wesel, Enterick, and Rhinbeg, almost without opposition. Then he advanced to the banks of the Rhine, which his horse passed by swimming; while his infantry crossed it in boats; and a few Dutch regiments that appeared on the other side, retired with precipitation. Marechal De Turenne took the strong fort of Skink in a few days; Arnheim, Knotzembourg, and Nimeguen, surrendered to him at the first summons. Lewis entered Doerbourg without resistance: his forces reduced Harderwick, Amersfert, Campen, Rhenen, Viane, Elberg, Zwol, Cuilemberg, Wageninguen, Lochem, and Woerden. Marechal Luxembourg, with the troops of Munster, possessed himself of Groll and Deventer. Utrecht sent deputies with offers

offers of submission to the French king. The marquis of Rochefort surprised Naerden, within three leagues of Amsterdam. Fourteen stragglers appearing before Muiden, received the keys of the town from the magistrates; but the castle was preserved by a female servant, who raised up the drawbridge, and the French stragglers were afterwards expelled: the cannon of this fortress commands the entrance to the harbour of Amsterdam. The prince of Orange, at the head of his raw discouraged troops, was obliged to retreat into the province of Holland before the victorious enemy, whose rapid progress overwhelmed the people with consternation and despair. Lewis had now subdued the three provinces of Guelderland, Overijssel, and Utrecht; and threatened the rest with immediate subjection. The populace, and all those who had opposed the Louvestein party, instead of exerting themselves for the preservation of their liberties, exclaimed against the pensionary, for having neglected the means of defence. They reviled him as the partizan of France; the author of all their calamities; and looked upon the young prince of Orange as the only person who could save them from destruction. In the midst of this despondence, the magistrates of Amsterdam acted up to the noble example of their ancestors: they obliged the burgeses to keep watch and ward; the people were armed and regularly paid; some useless ships were repaired, and furnished with artillery for the defence of the city; and the sluices being opened, the whole neighbourhood was laid under water. The other towns followed their example; so that the whole province of Holland was overflowed.

Notwithstanding these precautions, the nobles were still so much influenced by their fears, that when the states met to deliberate upon the deplorable situation of the commonwealth, they voted

The severe terms prescribed by Lewis.

A. C. 1672 that, provided their religion, liberty, and sovereign power, could be saved, every thing else should be surrendered to the conqueror. Amsterdam declared against treating with the foe; but this opposition being over-ruled, they sent ambassadors to deprecate the wrath, and implore the compassion of the French and English monarchs. They offered to cede Mæstricht, and all the frontier towns lying without the limits of the seven provinces, to Lewis, and accommodate him with a large sum to defray the expence of the war. The French king demanded that the commodities of France should be imported duty-free into Holland; that the states would permit the free exercise of the catholic religion, share the churches between them and the protestants, and appoint regular salaries for their priests; that they should cede to him all the frontier towns of the republic, together with Nimeguen, Skink, Knorzembourg, part of Guelderland, the isles of Bommel and Voorn, and the forts of St. Andrew, Louvestein, and Creveceur; that they should pay twenty millions of livres for the expence of the war; send a yearly embassy to Paris, with a golden medal, as an acknowledgment that to him they owed the preservation of that liberty which his predecessors had enabled their states to acquire; that they should give entire satisfaction to the king of England; and, within ten days, signify their assent to these proposals: in which case he would evacuate his conquests.

Their envoys dispatched to London met with a very harsh reception from the court, though they excited the compassion of the people. Charles himself began to be uneasy at the rapid progress of his ally. He foresaw that the entire conquest of Holland would be a formidable accession of power to Lewis, who might forget his engagements, and think it his interest to leave the king of England
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in dependence upon his subjects: besides, he was A. C. 1672 eager to share the spoils of the Dutch republic. He dismissed their ambassadors, and sent the duke of Buckingham, with the earls of Arlington and Halifax, to negotiate with Lewis on the present posture of affairs. They repaired to Utrecht, where the French king resided with his court, renewed the league between him and Charles; and inserted a clause, that no peace should be made with Holland, but by common consent. Then they produced Demands of the English. their master's demands upon the states, importing, that the Dutch should do honour to the English flag, without any limitation; banish all the king's enemies and calumniators; pay a million sterling towards the charges of the war, as well as ten thousand pounds yearly for liberty to fish on the British seas; share the trade of the East Indies; invest the prince of Orange with the hereditary dignity of stadtholder; and deliver into the king's hands the isles of Walcheren, Cadfant, Gorée, and Voorn, together with the town and castle of Sluys, as security for the performance of articles.

These cruel demands reduced the people of Hol- The prince of Orange declared stadtholder. land to despair. The Orange faction took this opportunity to inflame their resentment against the pensionary and his brother, who became the objects of popular hatred and execration. They demanded the repeal of the perpetual edict, by which they had engaged upon oath, that they would never acknowledge the prince of Orange as stadtholder. The two brothers still continued to oppose the repeal, from motives of true patriotism. At length the populace broke through all restraint. By an insurrection at Dort, the burgomasters were compelled to sign a repeal of the edict. The people at Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Middleburgh, and the Hague, rose in arms against their magistrates, and obliged them to declare in favour of the prince of Orange.

A. C. 1672. John De Wit had been assaulted, and left seemingly dead upon the street; his brother Cornelius was beset by ruffians in his own house at Dort; and, being sick, was with great difficulty protected by his servants: the gallant De Ruyter was insulted in the same manner at Amsterdam. Cornelius De Wit was accused by an infamous barber of a design against the life of the prince of Orange. Though the charge was improbable and absurd, the multitude howled for justice; and his judges, intimidated by their clamour, condemned him to the torture. This he endured with unshaken fortitude, protesting his innocence; and, between whiles, repeating the beautiful ode of Horace, beginning with "Justum et tenacem propositi virum." He was, nevertheless, deprived of his offices, and underwent the sentence of banishment. The pensionary resolved to accompany him in his exile, and repaired to the prison where he lay, in order to console him in his adversity. The base-born multitude assembled in a tumultuous manner, broke down the prison-doors, dragged out the unfortunate brothers, embued their savage hands in the blood of those virtuous patriots, who had deserved so well of their country, and treated their dead bodies with the most barbarous indignity.

The two brothers, John and Cornelius De Wit, murdered by the populace.

Fortitude and wise conduct of the stadtholder.

By the unworthy fate of those two sons of liberty, the prince of Orange acquired the whole administration of Holland and Zealand: the young prince, John Casimer, of Nassau, now under the guardianship of his mother, was stadtholder of Friezland and Groningen; and the other three provinces were in the hands of the enemy. Lewis no sooner understood that the prince of Orange was elevated to the dignity of stadtholder, than he attempted to bribe him over to his interest, by offering to make him sovereign of Holland; but he rejected the proposal with disdain. The duke of Buckingham, visiting

visiting this young prince on his return to England from Utrecht, exhorted him to put himself wholly under the protection of his uncle the king of England. When he expressed a regard for his country, the duke said, "You see your country is already lost." "There is one way (replied the prince) of avoiding such a sight; and that is, to die in the last ditch." The stadtholder was naturally phlegmatic, reserved, and thoughtful, well acquainted with the strength and interest of his country. To the care of John De Wit, the professed enemy of his greatness, he owed a liberal education: he possessed a great share of courage and fortitude, and was extremely tenacious of his purpose. At an extraordinary assembly of the states, he, in a speech that lasted three hours, represented the pernicious consequences of accepting the terms proposed by the king of France; encouraged them with solid reasons to hope that they should still be able to defend their liberties; demonstrated the possibility of raising money to defray the enormous expence of such a war; and concluded with saying, that religion and liberty could not be purchased at too dear a price. The states listened to him with amazement: they were astonished at the extent of his knowledge, and the solidity of his arguments: they were animated by the spirit of their young stadtholder. That grief and dejection, which had so long appeared in their countenances now vanished; they recovered the faculty of recollection, which seemed to have been buried under their misfortunes; and began to exert themselves with vigour in defence of their country.

Lewis, seeing a stop put to his conquests by the inundation of Holland, left the duke of Luxembourg at Utrecht, and marched into Flanders, from whence he hastened to Paris, where he was received with more fulsome adulation than had ever been

Divers powers declare in favour of the Dutch.

A C. 1672. paid to any European prince since the dissolution of the Roman empire. The passage of the Rhine, which he had beheld at a wary distance, and which his troops had performed almost without opposition, was celebrated in prose and verse, as an exploit equal to that of Alexander in passing the Granicus; and the epithet of "Great" was bestowed upon him by the servile flattery of his subjects, though he had not the least ingredient of heroism in his whole composition. He was on this occasion accompanied by the duke of Monmouth, who commanded six thousand English auxiliaries, that reinforced Lewis in consequence of the treaty between the two monarchs. All the neutral powers in Europe were alarmed at the rapidity of the French conquests, well knowing how formidable Lewis would become by the reduction of Holland. The emperor, and some other princes in Germany, promised to espouse the cause of the Dutch. Spain sent a body of troops to their assistance; and the prince of Orange made surprising efforts to assemble an army capable of looking the enemy in the face. The bishop of Munster was obliged to abandon the siege of Groningen with loss and dishonour. The stadtholder made an attempt upon Naerden; but Luxemburgh, attacking his intrenchments by surprize, obliged him to desist from the enterprize.

Proceedings
of the Eng-
lish parlia-
ment,

Furnet,
Temple.
Rapin

The chief hope of the Dutch centered in the English parliament, which they believed would open its eyes to the real interest of the kingdom, and take measures for putting an end to a war so opposite to the advantage of their country; but, in this hope, they were disappointed by another prorogation. Charles, resolving to make new levies, thought proper to keep the exchequer still shut; though the time was elapsed, at the expiration of which he had faithfully promised it should be opened. He excused himself, however, in a proclamation, observing,

serving, that the war still continued, though he had done all that lay in his power to promote a pacification. Sir Henry Coventry was now appointed secretary of state; lord Clifford rewarded with the treasurer's staff, and the dignity of duke conferred upon Lauderdale; so that the cabal seemed to triumph in their councils, and securely enjoyed their pensions from France, the infamous wages of treachery and corruption. At length the parliament reassembled in the beginning of February; and, at the recommendation of the court, chose Sir John Charleton their speaker, Turner, who hitherto possessed the chair, having been created a baron of the exchequer. The king, in his speech, having mentioned the war, and referred them to the declaration for the causes and necessity of that measure, observed that his indulgence in favour of the non-conformists had produced a very good effect, in securing the peace of the kingdom. He said, the favour granted to catholicks was as little as he could shew, considering their services and fidelity to him and his father: he told them plainly, that he should take all sorts of contradiction in evil part; and was determined to support his declaration on that subject. He took notice of a suspicion he had incurred, of having levied land-forces to controul the laws and invade the property of the subjects: he declared there was a necessity for having a greater number for the next campaign; therefore he hoped they would take that circumstance into consideration. He concluded with an assurance that he would maintain the true protestant religion as established in the church of England; and that the liberty and property of his subjects should be preserved inviolate. The earl of Shaftsbury, as lord chancellor, enlarged upon the same subjects, in a long speech replete with the most impudent falsehoods, the most palpable absurdity, and the grossest

A. C. 1673. adulation. He asserted that this was the parliament's war, undertaken by their advice against an insolent people, who aimed at universal empire; a nation whose existence was incompatible with the interest of Great-Britain; "they must be exterminated (said he) *Delenda est Carthago*. If you suffer them to rise again, remember that the states of Holland are the perpetual enemies of England, both from interest and inclination." He extolled the king as the best prince that ever sat upon the throne; as the restorer of liberty and the English church, for which his father had suffered; in which he himself had been born and educated; and to which he had adhered in his greatest distress with the most scrupulous attachment, notwithstanding the great offers by which he was tempted to renounce his religion. He recommended a supply to their serious consideration, desiring that it might be speedy and effectual. He concluded with these words, "Let us bless God and the king, that our religion is safe; that the church is committed to the care of a prince, from whom we have nothing to fear for our parliaments, liberties, and property. What more can a good Englishman ask, except that God will be pleased to grant his majesty a long and happy reign; and that the triple alliance between king, parliament, and people, may never be broken or impaired." The commons, instead of complying with the measures of the king, began the session by vindicating their own privileges. The chancellor had issued writs for filling the vacant seats in parliament, and new members had been elected; but now the house voted those writs and elections illegal, and the new members were expelled. The commons were extremely dissatisfied with the king's conduct; they disapproved of the war, and resolved to demand that the grievances of the nation should be redressed: but that

that they might not be suspected of disaffection or unseasonable resentment, they voted a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month, for eighteen months, to answer the king's extraordinary occasions. But they did not even mention the war, and resolved that the money-bill should go hand in hand with the redress of grievances. They presented an address against the king's declaration for liberty of conscience, observing that the penal laws could not be suspended but by act of parliament; and beseeching his majesty to remove all doubts and fears from the hearts of his faithful subjects. He answered, that he was sorry a step he had taken for the peace of the kingdom should produce any uneasiness in the house of commons, or give them cause to call in question his undoubted power in ecclesiastical matters, which he should never have thought of using, but for the advantage of his subjects. He declared his intention was not to invade or renounce the advice of his parliament; and, that if they would prepare a bill for the same purposes, that should be more effectual for preserving the tranquillity of church and state, and present it in a suitable manner, he would convince them of his readiness to concur with every measure that should be judged necessary for the benefit of the kingdom. In another address, the commons gave him to understand, that his answer was not sufficient to remove their fears and suspicions, arising from his arrogating a power of dispensing with penal laws: a power, which they said his predecessors had never pretended to exercise: a claim, by which he might interrupt the course of the laws, and change the whole legislative power, residing in the king and the two houses of parliament; they therefore implored a more clear and satisfactory answer. He replied, it was an affair of consequence, and he would take time to consider their address. Charleton, the speaker, desiring to resign
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A. C. 1673: the chair, on account of his ill state of health, was succeeded by Sir Edward Seymour.

The presbyterians oppose the declaration for liberty of conscience.

The cabal had misreckoned on the interest of the presbyterians, which they thought to secure by the declaration of indulgence. That sect perceived the drift of the court was, under shelter of them, to favour the Roman-catholics; that the ministry pursued arbitrary measures; that the king had involved the nation in an unjust and expensive war with their natural allies, and assembled an army, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of London, in all probability to over-awe the deliberations of the parliament. Alderman Love, one of the chiefs of the presbyterian party, spoke in the house with great spirit against the declaration; and his disinterested behaviour on this occasion made such impression on the commons, that they brought in a bill for the relief of protestant nonconformists. It passed the lower house without opposition; but the lords proposed some amendments, with which the commons would not comply; and, before the affair could be compromised, the king prorogued the parliament. In the mean time, the lords and commons joined in an address against the Roman catholics, desiring that the laws might be rigorously executed against priests and jesuits: that all officers and persons in public employments in the army, should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and receive the communion according to the form of the church of England. He published a proclamation according to custom; but this did not satisfy the commons, who resolved to prepare a bill that should effectually remedy the evil of which they complained; and they were determined against passing the supplies, until the declaration for liberty of conscience should be recalled.

Charles now found his affairs at a very delicate crisis: the question was, whether he should pull off the

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the mask, and break with his parliament, or sacrifice his prerogative, and own himself dependent upon their power and affection. The cabal were divided in opinion. The majority advised him to shake off all restraint, and avail himself of the army which lay encamped on Black-heath, under the command of Schomberg, a German protestant, of great reputation in war. Lauderdale undertook to bring a strong body of forces from Scotland, to assist in subduing the parliament. Buckingham offered to seize those members of the lower house who opposed the court-measures. The same violent counsels were espoused by Shaftsbury and Clifford: but Arlington, from a timorous temper, was for more moderate measures. The French king exhorted Charles to make peace with the parliament, as he could not of himself maintain the whole war. The concubines, afraid of suffering in the general confusion that would ensue, importuned him to embrace pacific measures; and this conduct being the best suited to his own indolent and unwarlike disposition, he resolved to gratify the commons. Shaftsbury perceiving the king's want of resolution, began to dread a parliamentary inquiry; from the danger of which, that he might screen himself in time, he in the most abrupt manner, entered into all the violence of the opposition. He was received with open arms by the chiefs of those who were distinguished by the name of the Country Party: they knew his strength, and triumphed in the acquisition. He now pressed the king to a compliance with the parliament; and Charles, sending for the declaration, broke the seal with his own hand. On the eighth day of March, he repaired to the house of peers, where he desired the commons to dispatch the business of the supply; and assured them, that he would grant his assent

A. C. 1673.
The king
rejects vio-
lent coun-
sels.

A. C. 1673. assent to every bill calculated to redress their grievances.

The parliament pass the test-act.

The two houses were so well pleased with this assurance, that they went in a body to thank his majesty for his most gracious declaration. Nevertheless, they soon passed the famous test-act, importing, That every person in office or employment, should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; receive the sacrament in some parish-church before competent witnesses, and subscribe a declaration, renouncing all belief of the real presence in the eucharist. They likewise brought in another bill for preventing marriages between protestants and papists: this was levelled against a match now in agitation between the duke of York and the archduchess of Inspruck. Then the commons presented two addresses upon grievances; one relating to England, and the other to Ireland. In the first, they demanded that a new duty laid upon coals, by order of council, should be suppressed; that soldiers should not be quartered in private houses; that the forces should be disbanded at the conclusion of the war; and that the practice of pressing men into the service should be discontinued. The petition concerning Ireland related chiefly to religious grievances; but, among other articles, they requested that colonel Richard Talbot, agent for the catholics in that kingdom, should be divested of all employment, civil or military, and be denied access to his majesty's person. The king made a favourable answer; and then the money-bill passed without opposition. When the test-act received the royal assent, a bill of indemnity likewise passed to screen the ministers from all inquiry: then the catholic officers quitted their employments; the duke of York resigned the lucrative office of lord-high-admiral; and lord Clifford gave up his treasurers-

furers-staff, which was bestowed upon Sir Thomas Osborne; afterwards created earl of Danby. A. C. 1673.

Prince Rupert being appointed admiral of the fleet, began to make preparations for going to sea, but was thwarted by his captains, who were generally devoted to the duke, and resented his dismissal: Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Ossory acted as inferior admirals. Having been joined by the French squadron under D'Etrées, they steered towards the coasts of Holland, to the number of one hundred and forty sail, comprehending frigates and fireships, and, on the twenty-eighth day of May, attacked the Dutch fleet, under De Ruyter, near Schoenvelt; but neither side had cause to boast of the victory. The enemy retired into their own harbours, and used such diligence in refitting their ships, that in a week they again presented themselves to the combined fleets of England and France. On the fourteenth of June they met off Flushing, where they cannonaded one another without coming to a close engagement, and were parted by tempestuous weather before any considerable damage was done on either side. Prince Rupert was averse to the war, and for that reason perhaps acted with the less activity. The duke still influenced the conduct of the admiralty; and, from private pique to prince Rupert, kept the fleet in continual want of necessaries and provision; so that he was obliged to return into harbour to be supplied. He was no sooner in condition to go to sea, than he steered his course to the Texel; and, on the eleventh day of August, fell in with the Dutch fleet, commanded by De Ruyter and Tromp, who were now perfectly reconciled by the mediation of the prince of Orange. When the action began, De Ruyter singled out prince Rupert; Tromp opposed himself to Sir Edward Spragge; and Brankert, their rear-admiral, bore up to the marshal D'E-

Three engagements between the English and Dutch fleets.

rées.

A. C. 1673. rées. This battle was fought with surprising emulation by the English and Dutch officers; but the French kept aloof, in such a manner, that Brankert shot a-head to the assistance of De Ruyter; and prince Rupert being separated from the division of Sir John Chichely, was quite surrounded by the enemy, and exposed to a most dreadful fire. He fought with his usual courage, and manifested such conduct as he had never displayed before. He disengaged himself with wonderful dexterity; and, joining Chichely, bore down to the assistance of Spragge, who was almost overpowered by Tromp and his squadron. The Royal Prince, in which he fought, was shattered in such a manner, that he was obliged to shift his flag to the St. George; Tromp for the same reason moved from the Golden Lion to the Comet; and the action was renewed with redoubled violence, until the St. George was quite disabled: then Spragge took to his boat, in order to hoist his flag on board of another ship; but the pinnace being sunk by a cannon-ball, this gallant officer perished. The earl of Ossory distinguished himself by his extraordinary valour and perseverance; but, after the death of Spragge, he found himself hard pressed by the enemy. Prince Rupert perceiving that whole division almost totally disabled, sent three fireships among the Dutch fleet, which was likewise greatly damaged; and made signal for the French squadron to bear down and engage. Had they obeyed this order, while the enemy were in confusion, occasioned by the fireships, in all probability the English would have obtained a complete victory. But the French marechal paid no regard to the signal; and the majority of the English ships had been so roughly handled, that the prince could not pursue his advantage: he therefore collected his straggled ships, and hauled off to the English shore, leaving the victory undecided.

The

The king of Sweden having offered his mediation, a congress was opened at Cologne; but the two monarchs insisted nearly on the terms which they had already imposed; and the states having recollected themselves from their panic, sunk every day in their offers, as their affairs began to assume a more favourable aspect. Spain and France had come to an open rupture: the emperor had declared in their favour; and sent an army into the field, under the command of the famous Montecuculi, who found means to baffle the vigilance of Turenne, and, by a sudden march, invested Bonne on the Upper Rhine, before the marechal was aware of his design. The prince of Orange having taken Naerdin, and, by the most artful conduct, left all the French generals behind him, joined the Imperialists, and Bonne surrendered in a few days. They reduced several other places in the electorate of Cologne: and the communication between France and the United Provinces being cut off, Lewis abandoned all his conquests, except Maestricht, which he had taken during this campaign. The Dutch ambassadors at the congress now talked in very lofty terms; and those of France and England retired from Cologne, on pretence of the violence offered to the count de Furstenberg, plenipotentiary for the elector of Cologne. This nobleman was apprehended by order of the emperor, as a subject of the empire, who had betrayed his country; and the two kings refused to treat until he should be set at liberty.

The emperor, in another instance, manifested his contempt for the king of England and his concerns. Proposals had been made for a marriage between the duke of York and a princess of the Inspruck branch of the house of Austria: but the emperor becoming a widower in the course of this year, espoused the lady; and the duke of York was obliged to turn his eyes to another quarter. He now pitched

A. C. 1673.
Progress of
the war on
the conti-
nent.

Match be-
tween the
duke of
York and
the princess
of Modena.

A. C. 1673. pitched upon Mary, sister of Francis duke of Modena, whom Lewis XIV. declared an adopted daughter of France; engaging at the same time to pay her portion. The proposal was immediately accepted, and the marriage solemnized by proxy; the earl of Peterborough representing the duke's person. The commons meeting after a prorogation, petitioned the king that he would prevent the match between the duke and the princess of Modena; and take care that his brother should marry no lady of the catholic persuasion. To this address the king replied, that the duke's marriage was already consummated by proxy; and that he could not suppose it would be disagreeable to the commons, as they had never expressed the least dissatisfaction at the proposal of the other match between his brother and a catholic princess, which had been so long in agitation.

Against
which the
commons
remonstrated.

The house was not satisfied with this answer, and resolved to present another address, containing their reasons for opposing the marriage. Charles, in a speech to the parliament, had mentioned the congress at Cologn; giving them to understand, that his ambassadors had been treated with contempt by those of the States-general, who seemed averse to all reasonable terms of accommodation. He therefore demanded a speedy supply for the maintenance of the war; desired they would discharge the debt he had contracted with the bankers and goldsmiths, who were ruined by his stopping payment at the exchequer; and he promised to maintain the religion, liberty, and property of his subjects. The chancellor expatiated upon the same topics; but neither his eloquence, nor the king's importunity, made the least impression upon the commons. They adjourned the house, and afterwards began to take his majesty's speech into consideration. In a committee of the whole house, they

they resolved, That no supply should be granted to the king, nor any imposition laid upon the subjects, before the final payment of the last aid, amounting to one million two hundred and thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds; nor until the kingdom should be secured against the designs of popery, and all the national grievances redressed; unless the obstinacy of the Dutch, in refusing reasonable terms of peace, should render such supply necessary for the defence of the nation. At the same time; they petitioned for a general fast, as if the kingdom had been in imminent danger. Then the house went in a body to the king, with a second address against the duke's marriage. They represented that it would produce doubts, disquiets, and dissatisfaction in the minds of the people, and probably engage his majesty in alliances prejudicial to the protestant religion; that it would increase the number of priests and jesuits in England, and revive the hopes of the catholic party; that it would diminish the people's affection for his royal highness; that the princess of Modena having so many relations at the court of Rome, this marriage would furnish them with means to penetrate into his majesty's most secret councils; and, as matches concluded by proxy had been often dissolved, they intreated him to prevent the actual consummation of this marriage; the duke being the presumptive heir of the crown.

Second address against the duke's marriage.

Charles was extremely shocked at these vigorous proceedings of the commons, and told them, he would consider their address. Mean while they voted that the land-army was a grievance and a burden to the nation; and began to prepare a third address on that subject. On the fourth day of November, the king came suddenly to the upper house, and sent for the commons. The usher of the black rod and the speaker arrived at the

Vigorous opposition of the commons.

A. C. 1673. same time at the house of commons; but the first had no sooner entered, than the door was shut upon the usher. Then the commons immediately voted, That the alliance with France was a grievance; that the evil counsellors about the king were grievances; and that, in particular, the duke of Lauderdale was a grievance. Mean while the usher continued knocking at the door; the speaker leaped from the chair before the votes could be collected, and the house rose in the utmost confusion. The king, in a very short speech, represented the great advantages which the enemy would reap from the least appearance of dissension between him and his parliament: he declared he had exerted his utmost care in preventing the growth of popery; and prorogued them to the seventh day of January. He deprived the earl of Shaftsbury of his office, and Sir Heneage Finch was created keeper of the great seal. He removed all popish recusants from his court; and issued a proclamation for putting the laws in execution against papists. The princess of Modena arriving in England with her mother, her marriage with the duke of York was consummated on the twenty-first day of November.

Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.
Hume.

A. C. 1674. When the parliament re-assembled, the king told them, that the States-general sought only to amuse him with vague overtures of peace: that their sole hope centered in a disunion between him and his parliament; that the best way of obtaining a good peace was to equip a good fleet; that a good fleet could not be equipped without money; and that therefore he expected a speedy and proportionable supply, granted with good-will and affection. Charles had now lost all credit with his parliament: they were aware of his dangerous designs; they resolved to prevent the execution of those plans of arbitrary power which he had projected; and ferriously

They proceed against some members of the cabal.

thouſly deliberated on the grievances of the nation. The lords, in an addreſs, petitioned that all papifts might be ordered to quit London and Weſtmiſter, during the ſeſſion of parliament; and he publiſhed a proclamation for that purpoſe. Next day the two houſes joined in another addreſs, deſiring he would ordain a day of faſting and humiliation, to implore the protection of God againſt the efforts of popery; and the king complied with their requeſt. The commons preſented a third addreſs, deſiring that the militia of London, Weſtmiſter, and the whole kingdom, might be ready at an hour's warning, to oppoſe any inſurrections that might be excited by papifts or other malcontents. The king aſſured them that he would provide for the ſafety of their lives, liberties, and privileges. They voted, That the king ſhould be intreated to remove the duke of Lauderdale for ever from his perſon and council, as a dangerous and ſuſpected perſon. The duke of Buckingham underſtanding that he would be the next victim, deſired and obtained a hearing before the houſe. On the firſt day he was ſo diſordered, that he pretended to be taken ill, and withdrew. At his ſecond appearance, he ſeemed more compoſed. He endeavoured to juſtify his own conduct; imputed all the evil counſels to the earl of Arlington, and dropped ſome ſevere inſinuations againſt the king and his brother*. The commons deſired he would answer a ſet of queries, which they prepared, in relation to ſome arbitrary ſteps of the government; but they were not ſatisfied either with his answers or defence; and therefore he underwent the fate of Lauderdale. Arlington was likewiſe heard in his own juſtification; and

* He ſaid hunting was a good di- ill ſport. By this ſarcasm he loſt the verſion; but if a man would hunt with the king's favour, which he never perfect- a brace of lobſters he would have but ly recovered in the ſequel.

A. C. 1674. excused himself so well, that, although an impeachment was prepared against him, they dropped the prosecution.

Peace with
the Dutch.

Charles now perceiving that it would be impossible to maintain the war which was so disagreeable to the parliament, began to listen to the terms which the States-general had proposed to him in private for a separate peace. They wrote a submissive letter, to be delivered by the marquis de Fresno, the Spanish envoy at London, whom they empowered to conclude a treaty with him in their name, on certain conditions specified in his credentials. Charles, to make a virtue of necessity, communicated those proposals to the two houses; and demanded the advice of his parliament. They exhorted him to put an end to the war: the conferences were begun with the marquis de Fresno; and in fifteen days the treaty was concluded. It was a renewal of the peace of Breda, with these additions, That they should compliment the English flag whether in large fleets or in single vessels; and pay about three hundred thousand pounds to Charles, towards defraying the expence of his armaments.

The king
prorogues
the parliament.

Though the parliament thanked the king for this peace, which was extremely agreeable to the nation, they still continued to examine grievances: They insisted upon the king's disbanding his land forces and guards: they appointed a committee to consider the militia-law passed in the Scottish parliament, authorising the army of that kingdom to march into any part of the king's dominions, by an order of their council. Another committee was directed to inquire into the state of Ireland, with respect to religion, the regular troops, and the militia. They prepared one bill for explaining and maintaining the privilege of the Habeas corpus; and

and brought in another, obliging the members of both houses to take the test-oath. Charles was not a little mortified at this spirit of severity; but he rendered these measures ineffectual by an immediate prorogation; and having thus freed himself from all foreign and domestic disputes, relapsed into a life of indolence, effeminacy, and pleasure.

The king of France expressed no resentment at his being abandoned in this clandestine manner by his ally: on the contrary, he frankly accepted the proffered mediation of Charles, from which he had reason to hope for favour and indulgence, considering that he, at this time, obliged the English monarch with a yearly pension of one hundred thousand pounds. Besides, the success of the war had not been answerable to the sanguine hopes of Lewis: and his enemies had multiplied into a formidable alliance. The prince of Orange had advanced into Flanders with a numerous army well disciplined, and endeavoured to bring the prince of Condé to a battle; but he cautiously avoided an engagement, because he was inferior in number, till at length the stadtholder exposed a wing of his army at Seneffe. The French general did not fail to take advantage of this oversight; and a very obstinate action ensued. The prince of Orange behaved on this occasion with equal courage and presence of mind. He rallied his troops, and led them back to the charge. He attacked the veteran forces of France with surprising spirit and perseverance; and obliged the prince of Condé to exert all the qualities of a consummate general. The battle was maintained even by moon-light, till at last the darkness parted the combatants. The prince of Condé said, the stadtholder had acted in every thing like an old general, except in exposing his person too much like a young soldier. He then undertook the siege of Oudenarde; but at

Operations
of war on
the conti-
nent.

A. C. 1674. the enemy's approach he abandoned the enterprize, by the persuasion of the Imperial and Spanish generals with whom he was joined: but he invested and took Grave before the end of the campaign. The French had reconquered Franche Comté; and Turenne was superior to the allies in Alsace. He defeated the duke of Lorraine, and the emperor's general Caprara, at Zintzheim. The Germans had invaded Alsace to the number of seventy thousand, He attacked and routed a body of them at Mulhausen: he drove the elector of Brandenburg from Colmar: he obtained a victory over them at Terkheim; and at last, obliged them to repass the Rhine with damage and disgrace.

Sir William Temple sent ambassador to Holland, to mediate a peace.

The king of England, that his proposals of mediation might have the more weight with the States-general, recalled Sir William Temple from his retreat, and sent him ambassador to Holland, where he knew that minister was in universal esteem. He found the Dutch very well disposed to peace; but they could not in gratitude desert their allies, who insisted upon prosecuting the war; and the prince of Orange was by this time inflamed with the desire of military glory. During the campaign he carefully avoided all conference with the English ambassador; and afterwards told him, that until a greater impression could be made upon France, they had nothing to expect from a negotiation †.

Duke of Buckingham disgraced.

During these transactions the court of England underwent some alterations. Sir Joseph Williamson, who had been plenipotentiary at the court of Cologne, was appointed secretary of state, in the room of the earl of Arlington, who became lord high chamberlain, though he aspired at the office of treasurer, which the king had bestowed upon

† This year was remarkable for the death of two great men; namely, Milton, one of the greatest geniuses for epic poetry that ever the world produced; and the earl of Clarendon, who died in the eighth year of his exile, at Rouen in Normandy.

the new earl of Danby. This contest produced the most rancorous animosity between those two ministers, who mutually exerted their utmost endeavours for the ruin of each other. The duke of Buckingham was disgraced, and lost the dignity of chancellor of the university of Cambridge, in which he was succeeded by the duke of Monmouth, who had signalized his courage in France; and began to be the minion of the people. Lauderdale still kept his ground, by the most assiduous application to the king's passions, and the most devoted subserviency to all his extravagant designs. Nevertheless, he was so much intimidated by the vote which had passed against him in the house of commons, that he affected openly to renounce the measures of the cabal. He professed uncommon zeal for the protestant religion; appeared constantly at church; was punctual in receiving the communion; and advised the king to put the laws rigorously in execution against the catholics.

A. C. 1674.

Burnet.
Ralph.
Temple.
Hume.

All these arts, however, were incapable of appeasing the resentment of the commons. After having prepared a bill at their next meeting, against the growth of popery, and the persons of Roman priests, they presented a long address against the duke of Lauderdale, whom they accused of having said in council, that the king's edicts ought to be obeyed preferable to the laws of the realm; and of having procured the militia-act in the parliament of Scotland, from which England was continually exposed to an invasion, upon the most frivolous pretence: they therefore besought his majesty to remove him from his presence and councils for ever. As Charles did not think proper to comply with their request, they resolved to deliver another petition to the king, for the same purpose. Then they set on foot an inquiry into the conduct of the earl of Danby, whom they resolved to impeach

A. C. 1675.

The commons present an address against Lauderdale.

A. C. 1675. for having been concerned in a design to render the king absolute; but finding the proofs insufficient, they dropped the accusation. The next step they took, was an address to his majesty, desiring he would recal the English auxiliaries from France; and take effectual methods to prevent his subjects from engaging in that service for the future. He said he could not recal the troops without running the risque of a rupture with his allies; but, he would take care they should not be recruited.

The test-bill brought into the house of lords.

The commons proceeded with such warmth in those maxims of opposition to the court, that many members of the upper house, and especially the bishops, began to dread the revival of the republican spirit. In order to prevent the mischiefs which might be kindled by such a flame, the earl of Lindsey brought into the house of lords a test-bill, for imposing upon all persons in ecclesiastical, civil, and military employments, as well as upon privy-counsellors, and members of parliament, an oath, renouncing the lawfulness of resisting the king, or those acting under his commission, on any pretence whatsoever; and declaring before God, that they would never attempt to alter the government in church or state. This bill met with such opposition, that the debates upon it continued seventeen days; and then it was carried by a small majority. The earl of Bristol, with the popish as well as several protestant lords, protested against it, and inserted their protest in the journal of the house.

Dispute between the two houses on account of Dr. Shirley.

It would in all probability have produced warmer disputes and more bitter altercation among the commons, had not their attention been diverted by a contest of another nature. One doctor Shirley having been cast in a lawsuit by Sir John Fag a member of the house of commons, appealed from chancery to the house of peers, who took cognizance of the cause, and summoned Sir John

Fag

Bag as respondent. He complained to the lower house, which undertook to defend him. They declared, that the lords had no right to receive an appeal from any court of equity; and committed Shirley to prison. The peers insisted upon their jurisdiction, which they had exercised for a long course of years. Recourse was had to conferences, which proved ineffectual. The commons imprisoned four lawyers who pleaded in this cause before the peers, contrary to an order of the lower house. The lords declared this commitment a breach of the Magna Charta; and ordered the lieutenant of the Tower to release the prisoners. Upon his refusal, they petitioned his majesty to punish him for contempt of the house. The king, in a speech to both houses, exhorted them to lay aside their animosity; and finding his advice had no effect upon the commons, prorogued the parliament to the thirteenth day of October. The lower house had voted a supply of three hundred thousand pounds to the king; but at the same time, resolved that the tonnage and poundage should be applied to the maintainance of the navy: he was therefore not a little chagrined to see the bill delayed by the quarrel between the two houses.

In opening the next session, he earnestly recommended unanimity, the interests of the English church, and a supply that should be sufficient for building new ships, and clearing off the anticipations of his revenue. The commons absolutely refused to pay his debts; but they granted three hundred thousand pounds for the expence of building twenty ships of a certain rate; and appropriated the tonnage and poundage to the support of the navy. Then they began to resume the subject of grievances with great eagerness and acrimony; when their deliberations were interrupted by the insolence of a French jesuit called father St. Germain.

Complaint
to the house
against St.
Germain
the jesuit.

A. C. 1675. **Germain.** He entered the house of one Luzancy, a convert to the protestant religion; and by threatening to assassinate or transport him to France, extorted a writing, in which he renounced his conversion. A complaint of this violence was brought before the commons by Luzancy, who declared, that the jesuit had said the king was a catholic in his heart: that the court was endeavouring to procure liberty of conscience: and that in less than two years the majority of the English people would acknowledge the pope's authority. Luzancy charged him with having dropped some other expressions of the same nature; and added, there was such a number of priests and papists in London, that a proselyte could not walk in the streets, without running the risque of his life. This affair produced such a violent ferment among the commons, that the king, in order to appease them, issued a proclamation, offering a reward of two hundred pounds to any person that should apprehend St. Germain; but he had already escaped to the continent.

Revival of
the quarrel
between the
two houses.

The commons being more and more convinced of the necessity for uniting the protestants against the designs of Rome, resumed a bill they had formerly proposed for the relief of the presbyterians: but they were anticipated by the lords. The duke of Buckingham had made a speech against persecution; and obtained a permission to bring in a bill in favour of protestant nonconformists. Even this was stifled in the birth by a revival of the quarrel between the two houses. The dispute about privilege became more violent than ever; and it was moved in the upper house, that they should petition the king to dissolve the parliament. This motion was rejected by a majority of two only: however, the king finding it impossible to compromise

compromise the difference, prorogued them for 4. Q. 1679. fifteen months.

Charles had paid so little regard to the interests of the nation in his public conduct, and deviated so much from the rules of decency and decorum in his private deportment; he had dissipated his revenue with such scandalous profusion; and countenanced the catholics so openly, against the sense of the nation, that his government was grown into universal contempt and abhorrence. It was lampooned and libelled in public, and ridiculed in almost every society in the kingdom. He fell particularly under the lash of the politicians. He was so exasperated by the liberties taken with his person and administration, that he suppressed all the coffee-houses, which were the places where those malcontents used to assemble; and issued a proclamation, promising a reward to those who should discover the authors of libels and pamphlets written against the government.

The king
suppresses
coffee-
houses.

The military events of this year were favourable to the allies. Lewis took the field in person, as volunteer in the army commanded by the prince of Condé in Flanders: but he was so narrowly watched by the prince of Orange, that all his conquests on that side were limited to the reduction of Huy and Limbourg. Montecutuli, at the head of the Imperial army, endeavoured to pass the Rhine, and penetrate into Lorraine and Burgundy: but he was prevented from executing that scheme by the vigilance of Turenne, who posted himself upon the German side of the river. The most masterly conduct was displayed by both those consummate generals; at length Turenne had reduced the enemy to the necessity of detamping in a few days, at a great disadvantage; but before he could reap the fruits of his ingenuity, he was slain by a cannon-ball, as he rode about viewing the posture of

the

Death of
marshal de
Turenne.

A. C. 1675. the Imperialists. The death of this truly great man filled the French army with inexpressible grief and confusion. The soldiers loved him as their father, and revered him as a being of superior species: they were therefore inconsolable. Nevertheless, his nephew De Lorges, who succeeded to the command, made a judicious retreat across the Rhine: yet the safety of his army was in a great measure owing to the valour of the English troops that were placed in the rear, and fought the enemy with the most desperate resolution †. The prince of Condé leaving the command of the forces in Flanders to Luxembourg, marched with a reinforcement to the army of Turenne, whom he succeeded in the command. The Imperialists had by this time passed the Rhine, and invested Hagenau. He compelled them to raise the siege of this place, as well as that of Saberne. He baffled all their endeavours to bring him to battle. Though they were superior to his army in number, he obliged them to repass the river, and take up their winter-quarters in their own country.

A detachment of their army had undertaken the siege of Triers; and the marechal Crequi advancing with an army to the relief of the place, was totally routed. He escaped with four attendants, and throwing himself into the town, resolved to defend it to the last extremity. The garrison, however, made the best terms they could obtain; and the marechal refusing to sign the capitulation, was surrendered as a prisoner to the besiegers. The Swedes, as allies of France, invaded Pomerania, from whence they were expelled by the elector of Brandenburg, who followed them into their own country, and concerted measures with the king of

Temple.
Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.
Hume.

† John Churchill afterwards duke auxiliaries in the station of a private of Marlborough, served among these captain.

Denmark

Denmark for improving the advantage he had gained. Messina in Sicily having revolted from Spain, a French fleet under the duke De Vivonne was sent to support them in their rebellion. The Dutch ordered De Ruyter to sail with a squadron to the assistance of their allies; a battle ensued, and that great officer was slain, to the irreparable loss of his country. France, by the amazing efforts of her ministers, was now become the first maritime power in Europe: yet, her success in maritime affairs was in a great measure owing to the instructions she received, and the examples which she imitated, in her successive alliances with Holland and England †.

A. C. 1675.

De Ruyter slain in an engagement with the French.

All the powers at war having agreed to send plenipotentiaries to Nimeguen, in order to negotiate a treaty of peace under the mediation of the English monarch, he, in July, sent thither lord Berkeley, Sir William Temple, and Sir Leoline Jenkins, in quality of mediating ambassadors; and there they found the plenipotentiaries of France and the States-general. Sweden was likewise very willing to treat; but the Imperialists, Spaniards, and elector of Brandenburg, protracted the time, in hope of gaining further advantages that would induce the French monarch to acquiesce in more equitable terms than they could expect from him in his present situation. In the month of April, the French troops had taken Condé by assault; and the fortrefs of Bouchain was reduced in sight of the prince of Orange, who found it impracticable to relieve the place. After these petty conquests,

A. C. 1676.

Progress of the war on the continent.

† About this period the duchess of Mazarine having quarrelled with her husband, arrived in England, where she had well nigh supplanted the duchess of Portsmouth in the king's affection. He indulged her with a pension of four thousand pounds; and her house became the academy of taste and politeness, frequented by the celebrated wits of the age; and among the rest by the famous St. Evremond, who, like herself, was a French refugee

A. C. 1676. Lewis returned to Versailles, leaving the command of his forces to Schomberg, who took Aire, and compelled the prince of Orange to raise the siege of Maestricht, which he had undertaken. On the upper Rhine, the Imperialists became masters of Philippsbourg; and the Swedes were unable to resist the Danes and Brandenburgers in Pomerania.

Congress at
Nimeguen.

The campaign being ended, the eyes of all Europe were turned upon the congress at Nimeguen, where, at length, all the plenipotentiaries were assembled. Lewis was desirous of dividing the allies, and concluding a separate peace with Holland; and Charles the mediator assisted him in that design. Sir William Temple was ordered to treat privately with the States and the prince of Orange on this subject. The States seemed willing to embrace the proposal; but the prince refused to take any step by which he might have incurred the imputation of having betrayed those allies who had so generously interposed for the preservation of his country. Perhaps this consideration was reinforced by the dictates of ambition and revenge. The Spaniards were extremely averse to peace, on the supposition that Charles would soon open his eyes to the interest of England, and declare against France, rather than see Lewis in possession of the Low-countries: but Charles, in some cases, looked upon his own interest as a circumstance widely different from that of his people. He considered the bulk of the nation as a set of turbulent, unruly, rebellious plebeians, whose insolence and obstinacy poisoned all his enjoyments: whereas he regarded Lewis as his affectionate kinsman, his warm friend, and generous benefactor. The national animosity against France had been very remarkable during the whole war; but now it was inflamed by the insolence and rapine of the French privateers, who
took

Temple.
Burnet.
Rapin.
Hume.

took the English and Dutch merchant ships without distinction. A. C. 1677.

The king, in his speech to the parliament, which met in February, protested he was ready to grant all the security in his power for the maintainance of the protestant religion, and the liberties of the people: he recommended harmony between the two houses, made them acquainted with his necessities, and desired a supply that would enable him to make a considerable addition to his navy. The commons had no sooner quitted the house of lords, than the duke of Buckingham standing up, undertook to prove that the parliament was dissolved by the last prerogation, in consequence of a statute made in the reign of Edward III. importing, That a parliament should be held once a year, or oftner, if need be. He said, that acts of parliament were not like women, the worse for being old: that although the words, "if need be," were suppressed when the act was renewed, the original statute had never been repealed; nor could the king set it aside without violating Magna Charta. He was seconded by the earls of Salisbury, Shaftsbury, and the lord Wharton. Their arguments produced violent debates; but, as they tended towards an abolition of all that had been transacted in this parliament, as well as to sedition and anarchy; those four noblemen were committed to the Tower. Buckingham, Salisbury, and Wharton, after having been confined some months, made their submissions to the king, who ordered them to be released. Lord Shaftsbury moved, in the king's bench, that he might be discharged: but the court refused to take cognizance of the matter. He remained a whole year prisoner, and then made that submission by which he might have obtained his liberty, when the other three lords were discharged. The house of commons now voted the sum

The duke of Buckingham, the earls of Salisbury and Shaftsbury, with lord Wharton, sent to the Tower.

A. C. 1677. sum of five hundred and eighty thousand pounds to his majesty, to defray the expence of building thirty ships of war: then they presented an address, desiring his majesty would take effectual measures for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands. As the king's answer was general, they petitioned him again upon the same subject; adding, that in case of a war with France, they would support him with all their power. He gave them to understand, that the best method for consulting the safety of the kingdom would be to enable him to put it in a proper posture of defence. They accordingly dispatched the money-bills, which received the royal assent; and then the parliament was adjourned.

The vigour of the commons had been quickened by the success of the French in Flanders. In March Lewis took Valenciennes: then dividing his army, he sent his brother the duke of Orleans to besiege St. Omer, while he himself invested Cambrai. The prince of Orange marched to the relief of St. Omer, and was defeated by the duke of Orleans and Luxembourg at Montcassel, from whence he retired to Ypres. Both towns fell into the hands of the enemy; and all the Spanish Netherlands were left exposed. The commons had exhorted Charles to contract such alliances as would be sufficient to check the ambition of the French monarch; and he had demanded a supply of six hundred thousand pounds. When they met in May, they expected he would impart to them the connections he had made during the adjournment. He had taken no such measure; but sent a message to the house by secretary Coventry, desiring they would dispatch the money-bills, as he intended in a little time to put an end to the session. Though they were well enough disposed to grant the money, they insisted upon having some certainty

Mutual distrust between the king and parliament.

tainty of its being applied to the proper purposes ; and Charles refused to engage in any alliances, until he should be in possession of the supply. He expressed an apprehension that they intended to involve him in a war with France ; and then leave him in the midst of his difficulties, unless he should purchase their assistance by some concessions to the prejudice of the crown. Perhaps their mutual distrust was not altogether without foundation. In a speech to them at Whitehall, he assured them, upon the word of a king, that they should have no cause to repent the confidence they might repose in him, with respect to the steps necessary for the safety of the kingdom. He at the same time declared he would not hazard their safety and his own, until he should find himself in a condition to defend his people and attack their enemies ; and he told them it would be their own fault if proper provision should not be made for their defence.

The opposition in the lower house was now become too powerful for the court-party, which consisted chiefly of needy cavaliers, and men of desperate fortunes, who received pensions from the government, and devoted themselves to the most arbitrary measures of the crown. This infamous practice of corruption was introduced by Clifford : but the interest of the ministry had been weakened by the disgrace of Buckingham, and the defection of Shaftsbury. Many members were irritated into opposition, by disappointments in their expectations from the court ; and others by the pernicious conduct of the administration. After very warm debates upon the king's speech, the country-party prevailed, and an address was presented to the king, importing, That it was not the custom of parliament to grant money for the support of alliances, before the nature of them was known. They intreated him to conclude a league offensive

The commons exhort him to conclude an alliance with the Dutch against the power of France.

A. C. 1677. and defensive with the States-general of the United Provinces; to curb the growing power of France, and preserve the Spanish Netherlands; and they explained their reasons for thinking that a war with France was absolutely necessary. Charles, in his answer, complained that they had violated his prerogative, by insisting upon his engaging in alliance with any power whatsoever. He said the power of making peace and war was a right inherent in the crown, from which he would never recede; and then he ordered them to adjourn to the tenth day of July.

Marriage
between the
prince of
Orange and
the princess
Mary,
daughter to
the duke of
York.

The earl of Danby, by the suggestions of Sir William Temple, who had been recalled to England, proposed a match between the prince of Orange and the princess Mary, eldest daughter to the duke of York. She and her sister Anne had been educated in the protestant religion, by the king's express command; and the prince of Orange seemed to relish the prospect of such a marriage. The king at first was neutral, or rather seemed averse to this alliance, which he knew must be extremely disagreeable to his brother: but when Danby represented that this marriage would in all probability bring over the prince of Orange entirely to his views, he began to see it in a different light, and permitted his nephew to visit England, after the campaign should be finished. He accordingly arrived in England in the month of October, and repaired to the court, which was then at Newmarket. He was extremely well pleased with the character and person of Mary, who possessed many amiable qualities; and made a formal demand of her in marriage. The duke treated him coldly, but declared his submission to the commands of the king, which indeed he always scrupulously obeyed; and Charles consented to the match, on condition that he and the prince should first agree upon

upon the plan of a pacification. The prince refused A. C. 1677. to treat of a peace, until the marriage should be consummated. He said, he would not give his allies reason to believe that he had purchased a wife at their expence; nor was he of a humour to barter his honour for any woman upon earth. He said to Temple, that he heartily repented of his coming to England: he desired him to tell the king, that he was determined to depart in two days; and that he left it in his majesty's choice, whether they should live for the future as the best friends, or the greatest enemies. The king was intimidated by the resolute deportment of his nephew. He knew he was extremely popular in England; and that he had maintained a correspondence during the last war with the chiefs of the English malcontents. Temple and Danby did not fail to represent and exaggerate the pernicious consequences of a rupture with the prince of Orange; and Charles agreed to the prince's own terms. The portion of the princess was fixed at forty thousand pounds: the marriage-articles were executed: the king declared the match in council: the city of London received the news with extraordinary demonstrations of joy and approbation: the mayor regaled the whole court with great magnificence: and the nuptials were celebrated on the fourth day of November.

This affair being happily concluded to the general satisfaction of the nation, the king and prince entered into conferences for a plan of pacification, at which the duke of York, the earl of Danby, and Sir William Temple assisted. After some dispute they agreed, That Lewis should restore all he had wrested from the emperor and the duke of Lorraine: That there should be a reciprocal restitution between France and Holland; and, That Spain should be re-established in possession of Aeth, Oudenarde, Charleory, Courtray, Tournay, Condé;

Charles and the prince agree upon a plan of pacification.

A. C. 1677. Valenciennes, Saint-Guillain, and Binch. The prince promised to use his utmost endeavours in persuading the States-general to accept of these conditions, and Charles undertook to recommend them to the French monarch. He declared he would never depart from this plan, but declare war against the French king, should he prove refractory; and, with this assurance, the prince returned with his bride to Holland. Mr. De Duras, afterwards earl of Feversham, was sent as ambassador to France, with intimation of this agreement; which, tho' it must have been extremely disagreeable to Lewis, he received without any emotion of resentment. He said, the king of England knew he might always command a peace; but he thought it was hard to part with some of those towns in Flanders, upon the fortifications of which he had expended considerable sums of money: he hoped his brother would not break with him for a few towns; but even with regard to these, he would send instructions to Barillon, his ambassador at London.

An illustrious private treaty between Charles and the French king.

The French king knew he was master of one argument which would always have weight with such a necessitous and prodigal prince as Charles. Barillon received orders to give up all the towns except Tournay, and even promise an equivalent for that, rather than break off the treaty: but that minister cajoled the king in such a manner, that his agreement with the prince of Orange was soon forgotten, and a negotiation of a very different nature begun. This was no other than a stipulation of conditions, in consideration of which the king of England should forbear from declaring in favour of the allies, notwithstanding the importunities of his parliament. The treaty was carried on by Montague, the English ambassador at Paris, who demanded two hundred thousand pounds a year, while

while the war should continue ; but Courtin, who resided in London, prevailed upon Charles to rest contented with two millions of livres. A. C. 1677. Montague afterwards received instructions from Danby, to insist upon the king's receiving from Lewis six hundred thousand livres annually for three years, after the peace should be ratified ; on the supposition that he could expect no supplies from parliament for that period.

Temple.
Burnet.
Rapin.
Hume.

Charles had prolonged the adjournment, until he should have concluded a new league with Holland, which was signed in January. Though this was only a defensive alliance, to prevent the French king from extending his conquests in the Low-Countries, the king thought it would dazzle the eyes of his parliament so as to produce wonderful effects in his favour. When they assembled in January, he told them he had concluded an alliance with Holland, which could not fail of preserving Flanders, unless the commons should refuse the necessary supplies. He said, that finding his endeavours after peace ineffectual, he had recalled his troops from France : that in the present situation of affairs, the nation could not be without ninety ships of the line in commission, and an army of thirty thousand men : that they might take what precautions they should judge proper for appropriating the supplies to the purposes of the war. He communicated the marriage of his niece with the prince of Orange : he demanded an aid proportionable to the necessities of the kingdom, and the important designs he had projected for the honour and advantage of his people. The commons, instead of signifying their approbation of his conduct, and their readiness to acquiesce in his proposals, petitioned, in an address, That he would not engage in any treaty with France, until she should be reduced to the same condition in which

Disputes
between the
king and
parliament,

A. C. 1677. she was at the peace of the Pyrenees: and they gave him to understand, that whenever he should be pleased to communicate the nature of his alliances to his faithful commons, they would enable him to prosecute the war, or procure an honourable peace. He complained of this address as an invasion of his prerogative. He told them they were mistaken if they thought he would give up his undoubted right of making peace and war; but that if once he should be enabled by their means to undertake a war, it should not be finished until he should have procured a solid peace for all the powers of Christendom: in the mean time, he observed that new alliances could not be contracted without the necessary supplies, which he therefore recommended to their attention.

The king makes vigorous preparations against France.

During these disputes between the king and parliament, the king of France, taking the field early in the spring, reduced Ghent and Ypres, and then distributed his troops in quarters of refreshment. This progress alarmed the Dutch in such a manner, that they resolved to conclude a separate peace. Lewis, knowing his own advantage, and that he had nothing to fear from the king of England, talked in the strain of a conqueror, and insisted upon terms very different from those which had been planned by Charles and the prince of Orange. In April the chancellor told the two houses, in the king's name, that the Dutch certainly intended to conclude a separate peace with France; and his majesty demanded their advice on that subject. The commons exhorted him to declare war against France: then they voted the alliance with Holland not answerable to their address, nor sufficient for the security of the kingdom. Charles expressed his dissatisfaction at this vote, notwithstanding which they presented another address, desiring to know the resolutions he had taken in consequence

sequence of their advice; that he would pay more attention to their addresses; and that he would remove the duke of Lauderdale from his councils. The king replied, That he was surpris'd at the extravagance of their address, to which he would not at present make the answer it deserved. As they had already pass'd a poll-tax for the service of the year, he began to make levies, which were carried on with such surpris'ing diligence and success, that in six weeks his army of thirty thousand men was completed. The duke of Monmouth was sent over with three thousand to garrison Ostend, a fleet was equip'd, and the court breathed nothing but defiance against the French monarch.

The States-general, apprised of these preparations, dispatch'd Van Lewin as their ambassador to London, with instructions to declare, That if the king of England would immediately denounce war against France, they would break off their negotiation with Lewis, and act vigorously in conjunction with their allies. Charles, finding himself obliged to give a categorical answer, told Sir William Temple, who brought the proposal from the Dutch ambassador, that, seeing the states were contented to accept of the conditions which France had prescribed, and Lewis had offer'd to purchase with a sum of money his consent to that which he could not prevent, he saw no reason for rejecting the gratuity. He therefore order'd Temple to treat with Barillon, the French ambassador; but Sir William refus'd to be concern'd in such a scandalous negotiation. He found others, however, who undertook the office. The bargain was struck for three hundred thousand pounds; but Barillon afterwards gave him to understand that his master would not pay the money unless he would engage, by a secret article, that he would never maintain an army that should exceed eight thousand men, reckoning the

His secret
negotiation
with Lewis.

A. C. 1677. whole force in his three kingdoms. When this demand was signified to Charles, "Cod's fish (said he) does my brother of France think to serve me thus? Are all his promises to make me absolute master of my people come to this? Or does he think it a thing to be done with eight thousand men?" This exclamation plainly proves, that Charles had entertained such a design; though the preparations in which he was now employed seem to have been made with a view to raise the price of his neutrality with the French monarch. At this juncture he certainly held the balance of power in Europe: but he had neither ambition to act as umpire among the princes of Christendom, nor resolution to prosecute any plan of importance; and, with respect to the interests of his country, he was absolutely indifferent. He never exerted himself but in transient efforts, as he chanced to be stimulated by the clamours of his parliament, the impotency of his wants, or the incessant instigation of those who enjoyed his confidence.

The commons pass a bill for disbanding the army.

When the two houses met in May, in vain he had recourse to promises and intreaties. The commons resolved, that should his majesty think proper to declare war against France, they would enable him to maintain it: otherwise they would concert measures for disbanding the army. The king alledged, that Lewis had offered a truce till the twenty-seventh day of July; and until that term should be expired, it would be improper to disband the forces. Notwithstanding this declaration, they voted that the troops levied since the month of September should be dismissed. On the eighteenth day of June, Charles told the two houses, in a speech, that the peace between France, Spain, and Holland, was almost as good as concluded: he said, the Spaniards had positively declared they were not able to bear the expence of maintaining garrisons

in

in Flanders, which must be left exposed, unless England would undertake to support the fortifications: he therefore observed, it would be necessary to keep a good fleet at sea; and, in particular, to provide for the safety of Ostend, where otherwise the French might maintain a fleet of forty ships of war, exactly opposite to the mouth of the Thames. If they desired he should live in strict union with his parliament, they would make an addition of three hundred thousand pounds to his revenue, in which case they might bring in a bill for appropriating fifty thousand yearly to the support of the fleet and artillery: then he would be always ready to pass whatever acts should be proposed for the benefit of the nation. Finally, he desired they would remember that he had engaged to pay forty thousand pounds for the portion of the princess Mary: that the first moiety was already due, and demanded by the prince of Orange. This speech had no other effect but that of irritating the commons, who absolutely rejected the proposal touching the augmentation of the revenue. They likewise finished the bill for disbanding the army, granting, however, six hundred thousand pounds for the payment of it. The king having passed it, together with another for an additional tax upon wine for three years; and a third, decreeing that the dead should be buried in flannel, for the benefit of the woollen manufacture, the parliament was prorogued.

Mean while the States-general negotiated a peace with France for themselves and Spain; and Lewis having agreed to restore Ghent, Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Courtray, and Limbourg, to his most catholic majesty; the Dutch ambassadors received orders to sign the treaty: but when the Spanish ambassador demanded of the French plenipotentiaries at what time those towns should be restored, they

New treaty
between
Charles and
the Dutch.

A. C. 1677. they were given to understand that the French king would detain them until the allies should have made restitution of the places they had wrested from the crown of Sweden. This declaration retarded the conclusion of the treaty. Charles was so incensed at this conduct of Lewis, that he forthwith sent Sir William Temple to the Hague, with full power to sign a mutual league with the states, by which the contracting powers obliged themselves to compel France by force of arms to restore the six towns in Flanders. This treaty was concluded in a few days, to the general satisfaction of all those states that dreaded the power and ambition of the French monarch.

Peace of
Nimeguen.

This was a vigorous measure, which the king of England had not steadiness enough to support. He sent Du Cros, the Swedish agent at London, with an order to Temple, commanding him to repair forthwith to Nimeguen, and tell the Swedish plenipotentiaries, in his name, that if they would consent to the immediate evacuation of the six places in Flanders, he would, after the conclusion of the peace, employ all his interest in procuring the restitution of the towns which their master had lost during the war. Du Cros no sooner arrived in Holland, then he visited the deputies of the states apart; and not only made them acquainted with the order he had received for Sir William Temple; but assured them, at the same time, that the kings of France and England had already agreed upon a plan of a pacification, from which Charles would never deviate, notwithstanding his last treaty with the States-general. Nevertheless the Dutch plenipotentiaries at Nimeguen resolutely refused to sign the peace, unless the French king would engage to make immediate restitution of the six towns; and the French ambassadors seemed inflexible till the very last day of the congress, which was the first of August,

August, when all of a sudden they desisted from their pretensions, and the treaty was signed. This was soon followed by an accommodation between France and Spain; and, in a few months, all the confederates enjoyed the benefit of a pacification, except the duke of Lorraine, who was not restored to his dominions.

The duke of Luxembourg had formed the blockade of Mons, and Lewis endeavoured to protract the treaty, until that place should be reduced. Even after the treaty was signed, the prince of Orange, who had not yet received a formal intimation of it from the states, marched up to the duke of Luxembourg, who rested secure on the faith of the treaty, and attacked him with great fury at St. Denys, where the French sustained some damage. This action was the effect either of ambition or of revenge; for the prince certainly knew that the peace was signed at Nimeguen.

For a course of twelve years, Lauderdale had governed Scotland with the most cruel and perfidious despotism; except during a small intermission while the government was in the hands of the earl of Tweeddale and Sir Robert Murray, men of moderate principles and discretion. Episcopacy had been settled in that kingdom; but was so contrary to the genius of the people, that conventicles multiplied every day. The established clergy were insulted; and the covenanters became extremely insolent and troublesome, not contented with the indulgence and toleration they enjoyed by the connivance of the government. The two acts procured in the parliament of Scotland, relating to the king's supremacy and the militia, rendered Lauderdale as absolute as any eastern emperor. He passed other laws against nonconformists, by virtue of which he fined, imprisoned, and banished the subject: so that his administration was a most cruel and

A. C. 1677. and perfidious inquisition, promoted by Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews. His conduct in civil affairs was equally unjust and oppressive: he laid restrictions upon trade; imposed heavy duties, and granted monopolies to his own creatures. A party was formed against him by the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Tweddale, and some other noblemen, who represented his iniquity to the king. They were graciously received; but Lauderdale still continued in authority. He now gave a loose to the most furious revenge. He influenced the privy-council of that kingdom to convert the houses of those who had complained of his administration into garrisons for suppressing conventicles; and the soldiers were encouraged to plunder and destroy the effects of those whom they had dispossessed. The lawyers of Edinburgh having asserted, that appeals to parliament were legal, the king's order was obtained for banishing them twelve miles from that city: and the course of justice was stopped for a whole year. Twelve of the chief magistrates were declared incapable of public office, for no other crime than that of refusing the most servile compliance with the orders of Lauderdale. Individuals were imprisoned in the most arbitrary manner, and all employments set to sale. Bonds were imposed upon the landholders of the western shires in which presbyterianism chiefly prevailed, obliging them to be answerable in the affair of conventicles, for their servants, tenants, and dependents. Because they refused to sign these iniquitous obligations, the country was deemed to be in a state of rebellion. Eight thousand Highlanders, in consequence of an order of council, were assembled by some of the chieftains; and these being joined by the guards, marched into the West, where they lived at discretion for two months, during which they committed every species of cruelty, rapine, and

and outrage. A great number of preachers and their hearers were "intercommuned;" a step taken in that country previous to outlawry; and, that the cry of the oppressed people might not reach the throne, all noblemen and landholders were forbid, under severe penalties, to quit the kingdom. Notwithstanding this injunction by act of council, the duke of Hamilton, the earls of Cassels and Tweddale repaired to London, and laid the miserable state of their country before Charles, who issued orders for discontinuing the bonds and writs of intercommuning; but expressed no indignation against Lauderdale, who had abused his authority. In the absence of these noblemen, the duke was allowed to summon a convention of the states; which, in their addresses to the king, expressed their entire satisfaction with Lauderdale's administration: a sure mark of the abject slavery to which that wretched people were reduced.

A. C. 1677.

Burnet.
Temple.
Rapin.
Hume.

At this period, the attention of the English nation was engrossed by a very remarkable instance of villainy and imposture, that raised an universal ferment among the people, and operated in defiance of common sense and demonstration. On the twelfth day of August, one Kirby a chymist, approaching the king in St. James's Park, "Sir (said he) keep within the company: your enemies have a design upon your life." Being questioned farther in consequence of this strange intimation, he offered to produce one doctor Tongue, a weak, credulous clergyman, who had told him, that two persons, named Grove and Pickering, were engaged to murder the king; and that Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, had undertaken to take away his majesty's life by poison, should the attempts of those assassins miscarry. Tongue was introduced to the king, with a bundle of papers, relating to this pretended conspiracy, and referred

Intimation
of a conspiracy
against
the king's
life.

A. C. 1677. ferrid to the lord treasurer Danby. He said the papers were thrust under his door; and afterwards declared he knew the author of them, who desired his name might be concealed, as he dreaded the resentment of the jesuits. The information he gave was so vague and improbable, that Charles concluded the whole was a fiction. A packet of letters, directed to Bedingfield, confessor to the duke of York, no sooner came to hand, than he delivered them to his royal highness, as papers of dangerous import, which he did not understand; but they seemed calculated to involve him in trouble, and were manifestly forged, as he knew the handwriting of the persons in whose names they were subscribed. The king had been previously informed of this packet by Tongue, who declared it was sent by the jesuits who had conspired against his life. When he therefore compared this intimation with the behaviour of Bedingfield, and the contents of the letters, he was more and more persuaded, that the whole plot was an imposture, and desired that it might be concealed from the knowledge of the public, lest it should produce a new flame among the people. The duke, however, was so solicitous to acquit the jesuits, and especially his own confessor, of all imputation, that he insisted upon a minute inquiry before the council.

Information
of Titus
Oates.

Then Titus Oates, the fountain of all this intelligence, made his appearance. He was an abandoned miscreant, obscure, illiterate, and indigent. He had been once indicted for perjury, afterwards chaplain of a king's ship, and dismissed for unnatural practices. Then he professed himself a Roman catholic, and crossed the sea to St. Omer, where he was for some time maintained in the English college. The fathers of that seminary sent him

him with some dispatches to Spain: but, after his return, when they became better acquainted with his character, they would not suffer him to continue in the college, and he came over to London, where he could hardly subsist on the miserable pittance which they allowed for his support. There he cultivated an acquaintance with Tongue and Kirby, and probably, with their assistance, contrived this plot, partly to improve his circumstances, and partly to gratify his thirst of revenge against the jesuits, who had treated him with such contempt. Finding the king had paid very little regard to the suggestions of his two friends, he resolved to try his fate with the public, which always listened greedily to every charge against the catholics; and for this purpose voluntarily swore to the truth of his information, before Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, an active justice of the peace, who lived in Westminster. He pretended that the pope had assumed the sovereignty of England as St. Peter's patrimony, and delegated his authority to Oliva, general of the jesuits, who had expedited commissions for all the offices civil and military in the government of Great Britain and Ireland: that the ecclesiastical dignities were likewise conferred upon Roman catholic priests, foreigners as well as natives: that they had tried the king under the name of the Black bastard, condemned him as an heretic, and resolved to deprive him of life: that, when he (Oates) returned from France, a general meeting of the jesuits had been held at the White Horse tavern in the Strand, where they determined to take off the king, by shooting, stabbing, or poison: that several attempts had been already made without success; and that Coleman, secretary to the duke of York, was not only acquainted with their designs, but also corresponded on this subject with

A. C. 1677. father † La Chaife, confessor to the French king. A great number of jesuits, whom he named, were immediately taken into custody. Coleman at first retired; but next day surrendered himself to the secretary of state, and some of his papers were secured. Oates did not know him personally, when he was produced at the council, and only charged him upon hearsay: he likewise mentioned Wakeman the queen's physician. Being asked if he knew any thing to his prejudice, he answered, "No;" adding, "God forbid I should say any thing more than I know: I would not do that for all the world." Hé said, in the course of his examination, that he had been in Spain, and conferred with Don John, who had promised to assist them powerfully in their designs. The king desiring him to describe the person of Don John, he said he was a tall thin man: but Charles himself knew he was short and corpulent. His majesty asked another question touching the situation of the jesuit college in Paris, in which Oates said he had been present at a consult; and he made such an answer as plainly proved he had never seen the place. He affirmed that the jesuits had counterfeited the duke's seal, which they used occasionally; and that they intended to take away his life, should he prove refractory: that they had destined a good number of gentlemen and prelates to death: that they had used seventeen hundred fireballs, and four-

† Oates was so ignorant, that he called him father la Shee. He did not once mention Langhorne the lawyer, who was a person of note, and managed all the affairs of the jesuits in England. When Dr. Burnet asked him in private, what arguments the jesuits had used for his conversion to

the Roman catholic religion, he laid his hands upon his breast, saying, "God and his holy angels know I never changed; but went among them on purpose to betray them." He spoke with great passion against the society, and said he would have their blood.

score firemen, in beginning the conflagration in London; and were determined to seize that opportunity of assassinating the king; but their hearts relented when they saw him exert himself with such humanity for the relief of the sufferers. He declared that the jesuits fomented the faction in Scotland against the duke of Lauderdale; and that he had seen and been intrusted with many letters relating to this conspiracy.

The apprehensions of the people were surprisingly aroused and their resentment kindled even to fury at this information, every particular of which they implicitly believed. It was supposed to be confirmed by Coleman's letters, which contained some mysterious hints about extirpating the protestant heresy, the great zeal of the duke, and the mercenary spirit of his brother. But what established its credit beyond all doubt or hesitation, in the opinion of the multitude, was the death of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, who, after having been lost for several days, was found dead in a ditch by Primrose-hill in the way to Hampstead. His own sword was thrust through his body; but no blood had flowed from the wound: so that in all probability he had been dead some time before this method was taken to deceive the public. His gloves lay by him; and there was money in his pocket. A broad, livid mark appeared quite round his neck, which was broken; his breast exhibited some marks of bruises; and on his breeches were found several drops of wax-lights, which he never used in his own family. The clamour was immediately raised against the papists, as the authors of this murder; and the duke of Norfolk incurred some suspicion, from the officious manner in which he had retailed different reports to the council, before the body was found. He told them Godfrey had made a scandalous marriage, and retired from

Murder of
Sir Ed-
mundsbury
Godfrey.

A. C. 1677. the derision of the public: he shifted the scene of the transaction from place to place; and the deceased had been seen near Arundel-house, immediately before he disappeared. The populace were now exasperated to such a degree, that moderate men began to dread a general massacre of the Roman catholics. The body of Godfrey was carried through the streets in procession, preceded by seventy clergymen, attended with a vast multitude, and exposed in public for several days, during which this melancholy spectacle produced a most inflammatory effect upon the beholders. Even the better sort of people were infected with all the vulgar prejudices of the lower class; and the streams of resentment and credulity ran so high, that no man could, with any regard to personal safety, express the least doubt concerning the information of Oates, or the murder of Godfrey.

The parliament espouses the notion of the plot.

The parliament meeting while the people were in this agitation, Charles could not help taking some notice of the conspiracy: but he touched upon it slightly, saying, he should forbear delivering his opinion on the subject, lest he should be thought to say too much or too little. He was still desirous of stifling an enquiry which might involve the kingdom in confusion, and redound to the prejudice of his brother, whom he knew to be a bigotted papist. His intention, however, was frustrated by the earl of Danby, who, either from enmity to the catholics, or a desire of acquiring popularity, disclosed the whole affair in the house of peers, and expatiated upon the danger to which the king's life was exposed by this conspiracy. Charles was very much displeas'd at his conduct upon this occasion. "You have (said he) given them a handle to ruin yourself, as well as to disturb my affairs." The country-party in the parliament would not let slip such an opportunity of managing the passions of the
 peo-

people; while the creatures of the court were astonished and intimidated into silence and submission. An address was presented for a fast, and a new form of prayer composed for the occasion. The two houses petitioned that all popish recusants should be obliged to leave London; and that no stranger should be permitted to approach his majesty's person. Yet, in all these three addresses, they did not limit their fears to the king's person, but expressed their apprehension of the danger that threatened the protestant religion. This was the note which had been so successfully sounded in the ears of the people, by the members of the former long parliament. Oates was now examined by the commons, and made several additions to his first declaration. He affirmed, that the pope had by commissions appointed lord Arundel of Wardour chancellor, lord Powis treasurer, Sir William Godolphin privy-seal, lord Bellasis general, lord Petre lieutenant-general, lord Radcliffe major-general, lord Stafford paymaster-general, Coleman secretary of state, and Langhorne advocate-general. This lawyer he had not mentioned at the council board; but now he insisted upon having seen the commissions in Langhorne's chamber, and upon having delivered some of them with his own hands. He likewise accused Coleman and Wakeman, upon his own knowledge: the first as having employed four ruffians to assassinate the king at Windsor, in the preceding summer: the other, whose person he did not know at his first examination, he now charged with having undertaken, for the consideration of fifteen thousand pounds, to poison his majesty. If Oates had actually professed himself a Roman catholic, on purpose to betray the jesuits, and had even been intrusted with those commissions and letters, he certainly would have retained and produced

A. C. 1677. duced some of them, in order to corroborate and ascertain the truth of his evidence. He had boasted to the king of having ventured his soul in his service; but if he had really acted from such motives, he would not have allowed four ruffians to repair to Windsor on purpose to assassinate his sovereign, without giving intelligence of their design. It were an idle task to detect the falshood of an information which contains such a number of palpable absurdities. The two houses voted it a most dangerous conspiracy; and the lords above-mentioned were committed to the Tower. The trained bands of London were ordered to be in readiness: the two houses sat every day, to consider the dangerous plot: a committee of lords were appointed to examine witnesses; and they were supplied with blank warrants for committing such persons as they should find cause to suspect. Oates was recommended to the king by the parliament, protected by guards, accommodated with a pension of twelve hundred pounds, and extolled as the saviour of the nation. The king expelled the catholics from London, and from his guards, by proclamation: but the parliament was not so easily satisfied. The commons brought in a bill for preventing the danger that arose from popish members, especially in the house of peers. This was a previous step to more vigorous measures concerted against the succession of the duke of York. The leading men in the upper house, at this juncture, were the duke of Buckingham, the earl of Shaftsbury, the lords Effex and Hallifax. They were all averse to a popish successor; but the two first acted from private animosity. The king perceived the drift of the commons, who had actually begun to debate upon an address for petitioning his majesty to remove the duke from his person and councils. He therefore,
on

on the ninth day of November, in a speech to both A. C. 1677. houses, declared his readiness to pass all reasonable bills, provided they should have no tendency to destroy the right of succession in the true branch, nor to restrain his authority, and the just rights of his protestant successors.

During these transactions, a new informer appeared, in the person of one Bedloe, who, in a Bedloe commences informer. letter to Mr. Secretary Coventry, from Newbury, on the road to Bristol, desired that he might be apprehended by warrant, as he could make some important discoveries. He was an infamous cheat, who had been detected in many different branches of knavery. He had made shift to live by imposture, and travelled over great part of Europe in borrowed characters. He was, according to his desire, arrested at Bristol, and conveyed to London. He declared before the council, that he had seen the body of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey in the queen's palace at Somerset-house: that a servant of lord Bellasis had offered to gratify him with four thousand pounds, if he would assist in carrying it away; but that he had declined the office, and gone into the country, where he was so disturbed by the horrors of conscience, that he could enjoy no peace of mind, until he had addressed himself to the secretary. At his first examination, in the king's presence, he said he knew nothing of the plot; but had heard that forty thousand Spaniards were ready to rendezvous as pilgrims at St. Jago, from whence they would be transported to England. Next day, however, when examined by the committee of lords, he recollected all the particulars of the conspiracy, on his own knowledge; and, to render himself the more acceptable, added a great many circumstances of his own invention. The king told Dr. Burnet, that Bedloe had certainly been tutored, in the interval between his

A. C. 1677. first and second examination. He now said, that there was a design of landing ten thousand men at Burlington-bay from Flanders: and of surprizing the islands of Jersey and Guernsey by an embarkation from Brest. He affirmed, that the lords Powis and Petre had undertaken to raise an army in Radnorshire, to join those that would arrive from Spain: that fifty thousand men were ready to rise in London: that lord Stafford, Coleman, and Ireland, had received money sufficient to defray the expence of those armaments: that he himself had been tampered with, to undertake the murder of a man, in consideration of which he should have four thousand pounds, a commission from lord Bellasis, and the pope's benediction. He pretended they were resolved to assassinate the king, massacre the protestants; and should the duke refuse to hold the kingdom of the pope, the chief authority would be vested in certain noblemen nominated by his holiness. He likewise accused the lords Carrington and Brudenel, who were committed to custody by order of parliament. He charged the fire of London, as well as a subsequent disaster of the same kind in Southwark, upon the catholics, who hoped to find an opportunity to massacre the protestants, in such scenes of tumult and confusion; or at least to enrich themselves with the spoils of their enemies.

Improbability of what he asserted.

Bedloe's discovery needs no comment; though it may be necessary to observe, that France and Spain were at war when this project of invasion was supposed to be concerted between those two powers: that the king of Spain, far from being in a condition to transport forty thousand men upon such a project, could not afford garrisons for the towns in Flanders, which, at his desire, were secured by English troops; and that, after the most rigorous and unexpected search, no arms, ammunition, commissions,

missions, or papers, were found, to confirm the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. Nevertheless, such was the torrent of prejudice, such the frenzy of the people, that no inconsistencies were seen, no facts compared, no objections started. Reason was wholly abandoned, and the most incomprehensible circumstances were the most devoutly believed. They threw a veil of mystery over the whole design, which did not fail to excite the veneration of the public, even to a dangerous degree of enthusiasm. The story would have been less believed, had it been more consistent and intelligible. The commons, in an address, besought his majesty to appoint commissioners for tendering the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to his own domestics, those of the duke of York, and all residing in the palaces of Whitehall, St. James's, and Somerset-house. The king desired that the servants of the queen, and dutches of York, might be excepted; but in a second petition, they insisted upon their former demand. Understanding that commissions had been granted to officers who had not taken the oaths, they committed secretary Williamson to the Tower, for having countersigned such commissions. The king immediately released him. The commons justified what they had done in another address, desiring that he might be detained in custody; and that all the popish officers should be dismissed. Charles told them that Williamson was already released; but that he would dismiss the officers against whom they had objected. Then they proceeded on the bill for rendering papists incapable of sitting in parliament: they brought in another for disbanding the troops; and a third for maintaining part of the militia in arms for a certain term. Charles gave his assent to the two former; but this last he absolutely rejected, declaring, that he would not part with the command of the

A.C. 1677.

militia ; no, not for an hour : he offered, however, to keep the third part of it on foot, for the security of the government, provided they would grant a supply sufficient to maintain such a force ; but they did not think proper to embrace the proposal. When the bill for excluding all members who should refuse the test-oaths, was brought into the house of peers, the duke of York moved that an exception might be admitted in his favour. He begged this indulgence, with tears in his eyes, declaring, that his religion was a private concern between God and his own soul ; and that it should never appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding these earnest intreaties, he carried his point by two votes only.

Coleman
condemned
and exe-
cuted.

Edward Coleman being brought to his trial, was convicted on the evidence of Oates and Bedloe. The former swore he had sent fourscore guineas to the ruffian who undertook to assassinate the king ; the date of this transaction he fixed to the month of August ; but would not specify the particular day. Coleman could have proved he was in the country during the greater part of that month ; and therefore the witness would not be particular. His letters to father la Chaise were, in all probability, more heavy upon him than the evidence of Oates and Bedloe : not that they contained any treasonable expressions ; but they were replete with marks of impertinent zeal against the protestant religion. After his sentence, many members of both houses offered to interpose in his behalf, if he would make an ample confession. They hoped the love of life would have prompted him to accuse the duke his master ; but he persisted to the last moment in protesting his own innocence, and vindicating the character of his royal highness. He owned the indiscretion of his own conduct, and some private frauds he had committed ; but died in great composure, denying

denying every title of what had been laid to his charge; and declaring, before God, that he had never seen Oates but once; and never saw Bedloe before he was apprehended. A. C. 1677.

Charles still maintained his first opinion of the conspiracy, which he ridiculed in private among those in whom he could confide; but he saw it was absolutely necessary to yield to the torrent, lest he should exasperate the nation. He therefore issued a proclamation, promising a reward of two hundred pounds to every person who should make any new discovery touching the plot, before the twenty-fifth day of December. Oates and Bedloe, though they had often declared that they knew of no person of distinction concerned in the plot, except those they had already named, now ventured to accuse the queen of being engaged in the design against the life of her husband; and the commons, in an address to the king, desired that the queen and her domestics might be immediately removed from the palace of Whitehall. It was well known that Charles had no great affection to the queen; and that her removal would have made way for another consort, by whom he might have had an heir of his own body, which would have quieted all the fears and jealousies of those who were averse to a popish successor. Nevertheless, he would not abandon the queen to the rage of a misguided people. He assured her she might depend upon his protection. In order to manifest his resentment at the insolence of Oates, he commanded him to be strictly guarded. Next day, however, the commons, in an address, insisted upon his being enlarged, and served by his own domestics: they likewise desired his majesty would grant a competent pension for his subsistence. They voted, that the king should be addressed, to cause all the papists in the kingdom to be arrested. On the sixth day of December, they im-

Oates and
Bedloe ac-
cuse the
queen,

im-

A. C. 1677. impeached, at the bar of the upper house, the five lords who were confined in the Tower: but they had not time to present the articles of accusation.

Trial and execution of Ireland, Grove, and Pickering.

In the course of this month, Ireland and Pickering jesuits, with Grove a lay-brother, were tried at the Old-Bailey. Thomas Whitebread, provincial of the order, and John Fenwick a member of the society, were likewise produced at the bar; but their trial was deferred on account of the absence of a principal evidence. Oates deposed, that Pickering and Grove had bound themselves by an oath, administered by Whitebread, to assassinate the king: that for this purpose they had provided themselves with screwed pistols and silver bullets: that Pickering actually attempted to shoot the king in the park, but his flint was loose, so that he lost the opportunity. Bedloe swore that Ireland, Pickering, and Grove, together with one Conyers a Benedictine monk, undertook to murder the king in his morning walk at Newmarket: that he had heard them declare this resolution in the lodgings of father Harcourt, where it was determined that Grove should be gratified with fifteen hundred pounds, and Pickering with as many masses as the like sum would procure: in this particular he agreed with Oates. He likewise declared, Knight, Pritchard, O Neale, and O Bryan, were employed to murder the earl of Shaftsbury, the duke of Buckingham, the duke of Ormond, and his son the earl of Ossory. Grove, in his defence, protested, that, as he had a soul to be saved, he was utterly ignorant of the whole affair. Pickering said he had never in his life fired a pistol; and Whitebread, who was present at the trial, declared, in the presence of God, that Oates had not spoke three words of truth in his whole deposition. Ireland denied that he had ever seen Bedloe before that day, and desired him to produce a single witness

to prove he had ever been in his company. Pickering affirmed that he was an utter stranger to the persons of both evidences. When Grove observed that he hardly knew Oates by sight, this informer reminded the prisoner of his having told him, that he and three other Irishmen had set fire to the Borough of Southwark; and that his share of the reward for this service amounted to four hundred pounds. Ireland offered to prove, by twenty witnesses, that he had been in Staffordshire and Cheshire, during the whole month of August, and part of September, the periods which the informers had assigned for those consultations; but as the witnesses were not present, the prisoner reaped no benefit from the proposal. Whitebread produced a certificate, under the seal of the college at St. Omer, importing, that Oates had resided in that place during the months of April and May, although he had sworn to his being present at a consult in London on the twenty-fourth day of April. But this certificate could not be admitted as evidence, by the laws of England. In a word, the three prisoners were condemned; and each protested, in his last moments, that he was as innocent of the crimes laid to his charge as a child new born.

A. C. 1677

The opposition in the two houses of parliament was now grown too strong to be controuled; and their animosity against the court seemed to increase with their power. The earl of Danby lord-treasurer was the chief object of their resentment. He knew that many members of both houses were bent upon his destruction; and the person whom he chiefly dreaded was Montague, who had been ambassador in France, and came over to England, without the king's leave, in order to fill a seat he had procured in parliament. The king, at Danby's request, sent a message to the commons, informing them of his resolution to bring Montague to a trial,

The earl of Danby impeached of high-treason.

A. C. 1678. for having corresponded with the pope's nuncio abroad: at the same time a warrant was granted to secure his papers. Warm debates arose in the house; and many individuals declared it was a high breach of privilege, to seize the papers of a member against whom no treasonable practices had been sworn. Montague had warily deposited all his credentials in the hands of a trusty friend, to whom he now sent a messenger for the whole collection. The box being brought into the house, he opened it, and produced two letters from the earl of Danby, directing him to treat with the king of France for six hundred thousand livres, to be paid annually to the king of England, for three years after the peace of Nimeguen, in consideration of his favouring the French interest at the congress. The house was kindled into a violent flame by this intelligence. Winnington the solicitor-general inveighed against the earl of Danby as a minister who had been concerned in betraying the interest of England, and that of her allies, in selling the nation, and subverting the government: he therefore moved he might be impeached of high treason. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition by the earl's friends, who observed there was no treasonable fact charged upon him; and that he had done nothing but writ letters by the king's order; it was resolved, by a majority of votes, that the earl of Danby should be impeached; and in two days the articles were sent up to the house of lords.

The parliament dissolved.

He was accused of having given instructions to his majesty's ambassadors, without the privity of the secretaries of state, or of the council: of having endeavoured to subvert the government, and introduce arbitrary power: of having negotiated a disadvantageous peace with France, and sold the interest of the nation; of being popishly affected: of having concealed the late horrid plot contrived by

by the papists: of having wasted the public treasure, and obtained by indirect means several exorbitant grants from the crown. The earl of Danby was extremely embarrassed by some of these articles, which he could not answer in his own justification, without accusing the king, who had begged he would not divulge his secret negotiations. He re- criminated upon Montague as the person who had advised and set on foot those private treaties; and to prove this assertion, sent two of that minister's letters to the house of commons, who would not suffer them to be read. He observed, in the house of lords, That the French ministry had always looked upon him as an enemy to the interest of their nation: that he had exerted uncommon diligence in tracing out the conspiracy: and that he had wasted no treasure, inasmuch as there was none to waste. He likewise insinuated, that it was in his power to vindicate his own conduct in such a manner as would clear him of every article of the imputation. Granting all the allegations in the impeachment to be true, there was not one that amounted to high treason; and therefore the lords refused to commit him to the Tower. The commons insisted upon his being taken into custody: a contest ensued; and the king dreading some fatal consequence from the violence of the lower house, prorogued the parliament, which he afterwards dissolved. At the same time he issued writs, convoking another for the sixth day of March. Charles found it was high time to put an end to this assembly, which had continued since the second year of his reign. Their former complaisance and confidence were changed into dissatisfaction and distrust. They were grown not only unmanageable, but even dangerous to his government; and seemed to tread in the steps of the long parliament that ruined his father. It must be owned however, that this

change

Burnet,
North.
L'Étrange.
Rapin,

A. C. 1675. change was in a great measure owing to his own misconduct.

Miles
Prance ap-
prehended
for the mur-
der of God-
frey.

On the twenty-first day of December, Miles Prance, a goldsmith who professed the Roman catholic religion, was apprehended on suspicion of having been concerned in the murder of Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey. The informer was one Wren who had lodged at his house, and swore, that his landlord had been absent for several nights about the time at which the murder was committed. Prance being brought before the committee of lords at Westminster, denied the charge with the deepest imprecations; but Bedloe being present, and affirming that this was one of the men whom he had seen with the dead body in Somerset-house, he was committed to Newgate, loaded with irons and confined in the condemned hole, which was cold, dark, damp, and almost intolerably offensive.

A. C. 1679. There the poor wretch lay in all the horror of despair, groaning, shrieking, and exclaiming that he was not guilty. Next day, he desired he might be carried before the earl of Shaftsbury, who was president of the committee. This nobleman is said to have employed reproach and dreadful threats upon this miserable object, already half dead with fear, to extort an accusation against the catholics. At length he discovered some particulars, and promised to make a more ample confession, if he could be assured of pardon. This being obtained, he was examined in Newgate by a committee of both houses, and afterwards brought to Whitehall before the king and council. There he declared that Godfrey had been murdered in Somerset-house, by the contrivance of Gerald and Kelly two Irish priests, Robert Green cushion-keeper of the queen's chapel, Lawrence Hill footman to doctor Godden treasurer of the chapel, and Henry Berry porter of Somerset-palace. The next time Prance appeared before

before the council, he begged a private audience of the king, which being granted, he fell upon his knees, and declared, as he hoped for salvation, that his confession was totally false. He said, he was unacquainted with Bedloe, and utterly ignorant of the murder as well as of the conspiracy; but that Wren had informed against him in revenge for his having demanded the rent of his lodgings. Being sent back to his miserable apartment in Newgate, intimidated by the jailor, and exposed to the tyranny of the committee, he sent the keeper to tell the king, that his first deposition was true; and this he afterwards retracted. Doctor Loyd visiting him by the king's command, found him half dead with cold and terror. This humane clergyman ordered a fire to be made, and a bed to be provided for him; then he avowed his confession in such a manner as convinced the doctor of his sincerity. Perhaps, when he retracted his first deposition, he hoped the king would have taken him under his immediate protection; but finding himself still at the mercy of the committee, he hazarded his soul rather than endure the hardships to which his body was subjected.

His confession contained the following particulars. Hill, Gerald, and Green, in consequence of a consultation with Kelly, Berry, and Prance, undertook to dispatch Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey, as a violent persecutor of the Roman catholics, and a declared enemy of the queen's servants. On the twelfth day of October, they followed him at a distance, from ten in the morning till seven in the evening, when he entered a house in the neighbourhood of St. Clement's church, where he stayed till nine. When he arrived at the water-gate of Somerset-house, in his way homewards, Kelly and Berry feigned a quarrel, and Hill prevailed upon Godfrey to interpose as a justice of the peace. With difficulty

A. D. 1679. difficulty he was prevailed upon to enter the gate, when Green throwing a twisted handkerchief over his head, fixed it round his neck, and the rest falling upon him at the same time, he was immediately strangled; they knocked upon his breast with their knees, and twisted his neck until it was quite dislocated. The body was carried to a high chamber in the house of Dr. Godden, in which it lay two nights, and then it was removed to another apartment, where it was seen by Bedloe. They shifted it to a third place, and even brought it back to the room in which it had been at first deposited. Having kept it four days and four nights, they determined to convey it into the fields, with the rings on the fingers and the money in the pockets; and to thrust the sword through it, that the public might believe Sir Edmundsbury had made away with himself. They accordingly brought a sedan chair into the court, and the body being placed in it, was at midnight carried by them to Soho: there Hill waited for them with a horse, upon which it was mounted before him, and they proceeded to Primrose-hill, where they left it in a ditch, after Gerald had thrust the sword into it, and laid it in a proper attitude.

Berry,
Green, and
Hill, con-
demned and
executed.

Berry, Green, and Hill, were upon the evidence of Prance and Bedloe convicted of this murder, in spite of the most manifest contradictions in the depositions of the two witnesses, the different evidence given by each at different times, and the strongest presumptions in favour of the accused. These unhappy men brought witnesses to prove that they were at home and in bed at the time in which they were said to be employed in removing the body. The centinels who stood that night at the gate of Somerset-house, deposed, that no sedan was brought out of the palace. The people who lived in Godden's lodgings, declared upon oath, that

that no dead body could possibly be brought into the house without their knowledge; and that they were every day in the room which Prance described; without seeing any thing of that nature. Green and Hill died, protesting their innocence, as they hoped for mercy at the judgment-seat of God. Berry professed himself a protestant, and died like a devout christian, denying his having been privy in any shape to the murder; though he might have saved his life by making a confession. Oates; Bedloe, and Prance, were undoubtedly false informers; and Berry, Green, and Hill, in all probability, innocent. But, certain it is Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey was murdered; and the suspicion naturally falls upon the Roman catholics. Perhaps he was dispatched by the direction of those who did not know the particulars of the information to the truth of which Titus Oates had sworn before him; but were apprehensive of some discovery that might be fatal to the catholic interest. The story of his death, as related by Prance, with the circumstances of his body's being removed from one apartment to another, conveyed in a sedan, and mounted on horseback, is altogether improbable. They might have stripped him of his money and rings; and thrown him into the river; without running any risque of being discovered; whereas the method described by Prance was the most dangerous they could have devised. If they were desirous of imposing upon the world with respect to the manner of his death; a single man might have carried out the body in a hamper, without the least hazard of detection. Besides, the cause assigned for murdering him was absolutely without foundation. He was an enemy to all persecution; and lived upon good terms with the catholics; insomuch that he warned Coleman of his danger, and counselled him to retire before he was

A. C. 1679. publicly accused. The drops of wax upon his breeches seemed to indicate, that he had been strangled by the light of tapers, which were used only by persons of the first fashion, and popish priests at their worship. At this period Stephen Dugdale, who had been steward to lord Ashton, offered himself as an evidence to make further discoveries concerning the conspiracy. He affirmed, that two hundred thousand papists were ready to take arms in England, and accused five jesuits and a priest, against whom the king issued a proclamation; but all of them escaped, except Gavan, who was taken and imprisoned.

New parliament.

Charles exerted his utmost endeavours to influence the elections for the new parliament; but the spirit of the times was such as defeated all his efforts. Almost all the active men in the kingdom were enemies to the court; and the people were so infatuated by the rumours of plots and conspiracies hatched by the papists, that their resentment confounded the king with the catholics, though, according to all the informations hitherto published, the immediate purpose of the conspirators was to remove the king by assassination. The presbyterians bestirred themselves with incredible ardour on this occasion. They bore the chief sway in corporations, and even introduced the practice of splitting freeholds, in order to multiply votes for members. In a word, Charles had the mortification to foresee that the spirit of opposition would revive with double violence in this new parliament. In order to avert part of the storm with which he was threatened, he removed the duke of York from his presence; and that prince, in obedience to a written order, retired with his duchess and daughter Anne to Brussels. The king likewise ordered a pardon to be expedited in favour of the earl of Danby, lest his enemies should renew the prosecution against that

Duke of York retires to Brussels.

that minister, and the fear of death compel him to discover his majesty's secrets. In his speech to the new parliament, the king mentioned the pains he had taken in punishing the conspirators, and the murderers of Godfrey. He made a merit of having removed his brother from the kingdom; and he demanded supplies, as well for disbanding the army as for maintaining the navy. The commons having chosen Edward Seymour for their speaker, the king rejected their choice; and an obstinate dispute ensued. They pretended that the new speaker's being presented for the king's approbation was a meer form; and he maintained that he had a right to disapprove of their choice, without disclosing the cause of his disapprobation. The question could not be decided by precedent: at length the affair was compromised; and one Gregory a lawyer being elected by the house, was confirmed by the king. On the twentieth day of March, the house appointed a secret committee for preparing evidence against the lords who were in the Tower, and for receiving further information with regard to the conspiracy and the murder of Godfrey. Then they began to prepare new articles of impeachment against the earl of Danby,

They summoned Tongue, Oates, Bedloe, and one Everard, a new witness, to the bar of the house, to be examined concerning the plot. They addressed the king to gratify Bedloe with a reward of five hundred pounds, which he had promised, by proclamation, to the person who should first discover the murderers of Godfrey; and to commend him to the protection of the duke of Monmouth general of the forces. They voted, That an horrible conspiracy had been hatched by the papists for assassinating the king, destroying the protestant religion, and subverting the government: the peers concurred with them in this vote; and both houses

Earl of Dan-
by commit-
ted to the
Tower.

A. C. 1679. petitioned for a day of fast and humiliation. The king going to the house of lords, interceded with the parliament for the earl of Danby. He said that nobleman had acted in obedience to the orders he had received: that for their satisfaction he would deprive him of all his employments, and remove him from his presence; but, he insisted upon the pardon he had granted. The commons were not at all satisfied with this declaration. The houses were filled with Danby's enemies; and the commons were wholly influenced by Shaftsbury, who equally hated the king, the duke, and the treasurer, with implacable rancour. The design was to extort secrets of state, the discovery of which would reflect disgrace upon his majesty's character. The pardon, if valid, must defeat this purpose. The commons sent a committee to know of the chancellor in what manner the pardon had been sealed: then they understood that the king had withdrawn the seals from his custody for the time, that he might be screened from all blame. The whole house was in commotion: Nothing was heard but the most virulent invectives against the earl of Danby. Shaftsbury among the peers exhausted all his eloquence in stigmatising the government. He said popery and slavery were two brothers that walked hand in hand, sometimes the one and sometimes the other entered first; but, they never parted: that in England, popery would enter first to pave the way to slavery; but, in Scotland, slavery had taken the lead, and popery would follow. Danby having withdrawn himself, the commons brought in a bill, obliging him to surrender himself into the hands of justice by a certain day, on pain of being proceeded against by an act of attainder. This bill was sent down from the lords with some amendments: a dispute arose, and conferences were held upon the subject: at length, the

the peers acquiesced, and the bill passed. Then the earl of Danby surrendered himself to the usher of the black-rod, and was committed prisoner to the Tower. A. C. 1679.

Charles was now reduced to great perplexity. He saw his authority already disregarded, and ran the risque of being disgraced by the discoveries of Danby. In this emergency he consulted Sir William Temple, who advised him to weaken the opposition, by admitting the chiefs of it into his council. He forthwith tried the expedient. The earl of Essex, a conscientious nobleman, was created lord treasurer in the room of Danby: the office of secretary of state was bestowed upon the earl of Sunderland, who possessed a good capacity, and a talent for intrigue. Lord Hallifax, celebrated for his genius, learning, and eloquence, was likewise sworn of the council; and these three, together with Sir William Temple, were first consulted in all affairs of importance. Shaftsbury was declared president of the council; but finding himself excluded intirely from the king's confidence, he still adhered to the popular party, over whom he retained all his former influence. The city of London, and the kingdom in general, were overjoyed at this promotion, which seemed to prognosticate a change of measures; but, the king's intimation of it was received with great indifference by the house of commons. All the art and intrigue of Shaftsbury was employed in keeping up the flame of animosity against the king and his brother. The house of one Bird being set on fire by his maid-servant Elizabeth Oakely, she confessed she had been instigated to commit that crime by one Stubbs a catholic; and he being questioned, owned that father Gifford his confessor had assured him there was no sin in burning the houses of heretics. He and Oakely declared, that the catholics in England intended to

The king
changes his
council.

A. C. 1679. rise in arms, and expected to be joined by an army of sixty thousand men from France. The commons immediately addressed the king for the execution of Pickering and the other condemned jesuits. They even assembled on Sunday, to concert measures for the preservation of the king's person, and the protestant religion, against the attempts of the papists. They brought in a bill for banishing all Roman catholics from London: they voted, That the duke's being a Roman catholic, and the presumptive heir of the crown, was the chief encouragement to the designs and plots of the papists, against the king and the protestant religion.

Proposes
limitations
on a pop. sh
successor.

On the twenty-fifth of April, the earl of Danby being brought to the bar of the upper house, pleaded his pardon, and was reconveyed to the Tower. A committee of the commons being appointed to examine the nature of this defence, reported, That there was no example of any person's having pleaded a pardon in bar of an impeachment. Then the lower house desired the lords to ask if the earl would insist wholly upon his pardon. When this question was put, he desired time to consider of a reply, and was indulged with four days for that purpose. The king, in answer to the address of the commons for the execution of the persons under sentence of death, observed that he had been always scrupulous of shedding blood; that he would take time to deliberate maturely on their request, and make them acquainted with his sentiments on the subject. Being shocked at their vote against his brother, he, after a short speech to both houses, on the thirtieth day of April, desired they would use expedition in tracing out the particulars of the conspiracy, as well as in devising ways and means for disbanding the army, and maintaining a fleet for the defence of the kingdom. Then he told them, that as a mark of his care for the preserva-
tion

tion of their religion, he had ordered the chancellor A. C. 1679. to communicate certain proposals for their consideration. Accordingly, the chancellor, in his majesty's name, proposed the following limitations upon a popish successor: That it should not be in his power to bestow ecclesiastical benefices or spiritual offices upon any but pious and learned protestants; That the parliament sitting at the death of the king should continue for a certain time; or in case there should be no parliament at that juncture, the last should assemble without any new writs of elections: That, in the reign of a popish successor, no members of the privy-council, or judges, should be appointed or displaced but by the authority of parliament; and that all justices of the peace should be protestants: That, with respect to the militia, no lieutenant of a county should be deprived of his office but by order of parliament. The chancellor said it would be difficult to conceive how the power of a popish successor could be more effectually limited, considering how much his revenues would depend upon the parliament: nevertheless, if they could add any thing for the security of religion and liberty, without destroying the right of succession, the king would willingly assent to their proposal.

The commons, without paying the least regard to these offers, proceeded with the bill for preventing the dangers that might arise from popery, in the reign of his present majesty, as well as in his successors; and they ordered another to be brought in for vacating the seats of those members who should accept of any employment under the crown. On the fifth day of May, the house in a body demanded of the peers, that the earl of Danby should be brought to his trial. Then they presented a long address to the king against the duke of Lauderdale; and they finished the money-bill for enabling the king to disband the army. This act

Violence of the commons against the duke of York.

1679 contained a clause, importing, That for the future, soldiers should not be quartered in private houses. The lords, by a message, informed the lower house of their having fixed a day for hearing counsel upon the validity of Danby's pardon, which the commons had declared null and of no effect. They were incensed at this message, and instantly voted, That any person presuming to defend the validity of Danby's pardon should be deemed a betrayer of the liberties of the nation. They were now resolved to proceed to extremities; they presented an address to the king, representing, That London and Westminster were over-run with papists; and demanding, That the militia should be armed. Next day being Sunday, they ordered a bill to be brought in for rendering the duke of York incapable of succeeding to the throne of England. In an address to the king, they declared they would assist him with their whole power; and in case he should die a violent death, wreak their vengeance upon the catholics.

They bring
in the bill
of exclusion.

The committee of both houses meeting to deliberate upon the manner in which they should proceed with the trial of the five lords that were prisoners in the Tower, the commons insisted upon excluding the bishops, as those were cases in which life was concerned. The lords, on the other hand alledged, That the prelates had a right to be present at all the proceedings, except the verdict. This difference produced a learned dispute, and many writings were published on both sides of the question. On the fifteenth day of May, the commons read, for the first time, the bill of exclusion, to render the duke of York incapable of succeeding to the throne of England. In this famous bill, they asserted, That the pope's emissaries had seduced James duke of York, the presumptive heir of the crown; That they had converted him to the catholic

tholic religion, engaged him in divers negotiations with the pope, cardinals, and nuncios, for the interest of that communion: That by his means they had augmented the greatness of the French king, to the manifest danger of England: and, That by the accession of a popish prince to the throne, supported by foreign alliances, they would in time be enabled to execute their damnable enterprize. The proposed act therefore ordained, by the authority of the king and the two houses, That the said James, duke of York, Albany, and Ulster, should be incapable of inheriting the crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with their dependencies: or of enjoying the rights, titles, prerogatives, and revenues of the said crowns: That, in case of the king's death or resignation, they should devolve to the next person in the line of succession, as if the duke of York were dead: That all the acts of sovereignty or royalty exercised by him, should be null and punishable as treason: That all persons attempting to put him in possession of any one of those kingdoms, or corresponding with him for this purpose, should be deemed guilty of high treason: That he himself, upon setting foot in these kingdoms, should be held guilty of the same crime: and all persons were authorized to apprehend, imprison, and, in case of resistance, subdue him and his adherents by force of arms. This bill was read for the second time; and the question being put, whether it should be referred to the examination of a committee of the whole house, it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seventy-nine voices.

The next step of the commons was, to set on foot a severe inquiry against those members who received pensions from court; and eighteen were discovered. The standing army and the guards were voted illegal; and they brought in the bill of Habeas

A. C. 1679.

Bill of Habeas corpus.

A. C. 1679. Habeas corpus, which was passed into an act before the end of the session. This is one great bulwark of British liberty, obliging the judge, under severe penalties, to grant a writ of Habeas corpus, at the request of every prisoner, directing the jailor to produce him in court, and certify the cause of his commitment. The king had for some time entertained thoughts of proroguing the parliament; but, now his resolution was quickened by a hint of intelligence, importing, that the commons intended to draw up a remonstrance upon the grievances of the nation, like that which was presented to his father before the commencement of the civil war: Alarmed by this information, he repaired to the house of peers on the twenty-seventh day of May, and sending for the commons, prorogued the parliament to the fourteenth day of August. It was afterwards dissolved, without the advice of the council, and writs were issued for new elections. This was a desperate remedy, which Charles would not have used, had not he thought his servant's life was at stake, and his own crown in danger. He found himself at variance with a set of people whom he could neither intimidate nor appease; he became pensive and sullen, and his temper visibly changed from this period.

Trial of five
jesuits.

After the prorogation, the five jesuits, namely Whitebread the provincial, Fenwick, Harcourt, Gavan, and Turner, were brought to trial. Oates deposed that Whitebread presided at the consultation, in which it was resolved to assassinate the king; and that the rest were assisting in the same design. Dugdale, the new informer, swore that he had seen a letter, in the hand-writing of Whitebread, to father Ewers, desiring him to chuse bold and faithful persons to murder the king; and that he had read an hundred letters to different people on the same subject. Considering the craft and

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circumspection of the jesuits, this circumstance is almost incredible. He likewise deposed, that Harcourt wrote an account of Godfrey's death to Ewers, in Staffordshire, on the very night in which that magistrate was murdered; so that it was known in the country some days before the body was discovered at Primrose-hill. Prance affirmed, that Harcourt told him, there was a design on foot to take away the king's life; and that Fenwick said, fifty thousand men were ready to take arms, under the command of the lords Bellasis, Powis, and Arundel. Bedloe declared, that he had heard the prisoners discoursing with Coleman about sending four ruffians to assassinate the king at Windsor: that he saw Harcourt take fourscore or an hundred guineas out of a chest, for the use of those assassins: that, at another time, this jesuit delivered an order for two thousand pounds, as part of a greater sum, to Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, who said that fifteen thousand pounds would be but an indifferent reward for establishing religion, and preventing the ruin of three kingdoms. The unhappy prisoners observed, in their own defence, that the witnesses against them were persons of desperate fortunes and infamous characters; that it was very improbable they should communicate secrets of this nature to Oates, who had been expelled from St. Omer for scandalous practices, and even excluded from the sacrament. They enumerated the self-contradictions that appeared in his evidence: they produced sixteen witnesses of credit, students at St. Omer, and chiefly sons of reputable parents, who swore that Oates was in the seminary during the time at which he said the consultation was held in London. Eleven other witnesses declared upon oath, that Ireland, who had been executed, was in the country at the time of those pretended consultations, though Oates had sworn he was

was

A. C. 1679. was in town; and, in consequence of that deposition, the man had lost his life. Oates, indeed, provided himself with six or seven evidences, who declared they saw him in London at the time to which he had sworn; and, among the rest, one Smith, a school-master at Islington, upon whose credit he chiefly depended. These circumstances were supposed to invalidate the testimony of sixteen papists, whom even Scroggs the judge had discountenanced and ridiculed: yet Smith retracted his evidence in the sequel. Gavan was so weak as to desire that his innocence might be proved by the ordeal: in that case, indeed, there would have been a possibility of escaping; whereas there was none in the common form of trial before such a judge and jury.

Langhorn is convicted, and suffers death.

They were immediately convicted; though sentence was not produced till after the trial of Langhorn the lawyer, who was accused by the same evidence as a principal agent in the conspiracy. He objected to the credit of such infamous witnesses who had received pardon and recompence for betraying their fellow-subjects. Oates declared, that instead of receiving a recompence, he had spent six or seven hundred pounds of his own money. Bedloe likewise affirmed, that he was seven hundred pounds in advance. Langhorn observed the improbability of these assertions, considering that when they first appeared they were in extreme indigence. He insisted upon the evidence by which Oates had been proved perjured; but the judge gave him to understand, that he could not reject an evidence as perjured, until he was formally convicted of perjury. Oates had sworn that he lodged in the house of Grove at the time of the great consultation; Grove's wife and servant deposed, that he did not. The judge observed, that, being in disguise, he might have lodged there without being known.

known. The witnesses for the prisoner were in A. C. 1679. consulted by the court, and mal-treated by the people. One of them was hurt, to the imminent danger of his life. A woman declared she could not give evidence, unless the court would promise to protect her. The judge told her, all he could do, was to punish those by whom she might be assaulted. Langhorn, rather than she should run the risque of her life, waved her testimony. When he was convicted, the barbarous multitude testified their joy by loud acclamations. He and the jesuits received sentence of death, and protested their innocence to the last moment of their lives. Whitebread, in particular, declared his abhorrence of all equivocation, and of the maxim espoused by some jesuits, touching the lawfulness of deposing and assassinating princes.

The humane reader cannot, without horror, reflect upon the fate of these unhappy persons, who fell a sacrifice to the savage prejudice of the multitude, excited by the villainy of the most abandoned miscreants; and inflamed by the arts of a malignant faction. By this time, however, the populace began to be gorged with blood: the rage of their resentment had exhausted itself. The protestations, the composure, and pious deportment of the sufferers, made impression upon the minds of all who retained the least sentiment of humanity; and now they began to reflect upon the characters of the informers and the absurdities of their information, which, in the hurry and precipitation of their vengeance, they had wholly overlooked. On the eighteenth day of June, the chief-justice proceeded to the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician. Oates had said, at his first examination, that he knew nothing against this person but by hearsay; yet now he swore he had seen a letter from him to Ashby the jesuit, advising him

Sir George
Wakeman
acquitted.

to

A. C. 1679. to use a milk-diet, and be pumped at the Bath; and likewise expressing his zeal for the design of assassinating or poisoning the king. He then repeated his former accusation of the queen. Wakeman reminded the judge of the informer's solemn declaration, that he knew nothing against him but by hearsay. He proved, by his own servant, and the apothecary at the Bath, that he did not write, but dictate, the paper sent to Ashby; and that nothing could be more absurd than to prescribe a milk-diet with the use of the Bath-water. Bedloe prevaricated scandalously in his evidence against this physician: who, together with three Benedictine monks tried at the same time, were acquitted by the jury. Oates and Bedloe, perceiving their credit was now entirely blasted, loudly taxed the chief-justice Scroggs with partiality, because he acted in these trials with unusual moderation. This judge thought proper to turn with the tide of popular prejudice; and, as the queen's character was, in a great measure, concerned with that of her physician, he was unwilling to give offence to the king, without any prospect of advantage.

Rebellion in
Scotland
quelled by
Monmouth.

In Scotland the duke of Lauderdale's interest declined apace. He had been accused before the council of England, by the duke of Hamilton, and several other noblemen, who proved him guilty of the most arbitrary and tyrannical administration. His memory had begun to fail him, and the king was desirous of letting him fall gently; being resolved to vest the government of Scotland in the hands of the duke of Monmouth, who was now the minion of the people. At present it was so relaxed, and the distractions in England were so well known, that the covenanters rejected all restraint, and took arms in defence of their conventicles. They hated Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews, with the most implacable enmity, as an apostate,

and persecutor of God's people. A troop of these A. C. 1679. armed fanatics, chancing to meet this prelate and his daughter in his coach, upon a heath in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews, dragged him from the carriage; and, without paying the least regard to the cries and intreaties of his daughter, murdered him in the most barbarous manner. This cruel affassination was celebrated by the covenanters as an exploit meritorious in the fight of God. They became more and more insolent and enterprizing. They published a declaration against prelacy, and burned several acts of parliament in the marketplace of Rutherglen, a small borough near Glasgow. Captain Graham, afterwards lord Dundee, attacked one of their conventicles, and was repulsed with the loss of thirty men. They now resolved to try their fortune in the field. They took possession of Glasgow; expelled the established clergy; issued a proclamation, declaring they had taken up arms against the king's supremacy, popery, prelacy, and a popish successor. The king was no sooner informed of this insurrection, than he dispatched Monmouth with some troops of English cavalry to Scotland. These being joined by the Scottish guards, and some regiments of militia, marched against the insurgents, who were posted at Bothwell-bridge, between Glasgow and Hamilton, to the number of eight thousand, commanded by their ministers. They defended the bridge until their ammunition was expended: then they retired; and Monmouth passing, drew up his forces without opposition. They could not stand the fire of his artillery; but immediately fled in confusion. Seven hundred were killed in the pursuit, and twelve hundred taken prisoners. The duke treated them with great lenity. He dismissed those who promised to live peaceably under the government. Three hundred, who rejected this condition, were embarked

A. C. 1679. embarked for the plantations, and perished in the voyage. The duke of Monmouth was naturally brave and merciful; but he was supposed to have courted popularity on this occasion. He had married a Scottish lady, the rich heiress of Buccleugh, allied to all the chief nobility, and hoped to succeed the duke of Lauderdale in all his influence. He prevailed upon the king to grant an act of indemnity in favour of those poor wretches who had been harrassed and hunted into rebellion by the severity of the government; but Lauderdale took care to draw it up in such a manner, that it seemed rather a full pardon to him and all his adherents, than an indulgence to the "intercommuned" covenanters.

The duke of
York re-
pairs to
Scotland.

In the latter end of August the king was taken ill of an intermitting-fever at Windsor. This being thought dangerous by the physicians, Charles, with the privity of Effex, Sunderland, and Hallifax, sent a courier for the duke of York, who returned privately to England; but, before he reached Windsor, the king was recovered. The duke of Monmouth had resigned himself to the management of Shaftsbury, and seemed to aspire at the succession to the crown. He was highly favoured by the king, and idolized by the people: nevertheless, the duke of York, being supported with the interest of the earls of Effex and Hallifax, refused to return to the continent until Monmouth was deprived of his commission, and ordered to quit the kingdom. This great point being gained; the duke of York retired again to Bruffels; but he soon obtained leave to reside in Scotland, that he might have an opportunity of conciliating the affections of that people, and be at hand, in case of his brother's decease.

Meal tub
plet.

Before he left England, he had prevailed upon the king to postpone the meeting of the new parliament

liament by prorogation. He hoped, that as the nation began to cool, his right to the succession would regain the ground it had lost. Besides, he had some expectation from a new plot, which he thought would translate the odium from the catholics to the presbyterians. One Dangerfield, more infamous (if possible) than Oates and Bedloe, a wretch who had been set in the pillory, scourged, branded, and transported for fraud, felony, and coining, hatched a plot, in conjunction with a midwife called Cellier, a Roman catholic of abandoned morals. They were said to be encouraged by the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five popish lords in the Tower. Dangerfield declared there was a design on foot to set up a new form of government, and remove the king, with the royal family. He communicated this intelligence to the king and the duke of York, who supplied him with money, and countenanced his discovery. He hid some seditious papers in the lodgings of one colonel Mansel, and then brought custom-house officers into the apartments to search for smuggled merchandize. The papers were found; and the council having examined the affair, concluded they were forged by Dangerfield. They ordered all the places he frequented to be searched; and, in the house of Cellier, the whole scheme of the conspiracy was discovered upon paper, concealed in a meal-tub, whence it acquired the name of the Meal-tub plot. Dangerfield being committed to Newgate, made an ample confession of the forgery, which he said was contrived by the earl of Castlemain, the countess of Powis, and the five lords in the Tower: that the design was to suborn witnesses to prove a charge of sodomy and perjury upon Oates; to assassinate the earl of Shaftsbury; to accuse the dukes of Monmouth and Buckingham, the earls of Essex, Hallifax, and others, of

A. C. 1679. having been concerned in the conspiracy against the king and his brother. The earl of Castlemain and the countess of Powis were sent to the Tower; and the king himself was suspected of having encouraged this imposture. But people, who reasoned without prejudice, believed the confession and information were equally false.

Earl of
Shaftsbury
expelled
from the
council.

The earls of Essex and Halifax pressed the king to assemble the parliament: but he was afraid of finding them irritated by this new discovery; and therefore withstood all their importunities. Disgusted at this refusal, and dreading the popular resentment, they withdrew themselves from the king's confidence. Essex resigned the treasurer's staff, which was bestowed upon Laurence Hyde, who, with Sunderland and Godolphin, became his chief counsellors. Lord Russel, one of the most popular and virtuous men in the nation, quitted the council-board: Sir William Temple retired to the country; and Shaftsbury being removed from the board, his place was filled by the earl of Radnor. The immediate cause of his removal was an insult he offered to the king in his absence. Charles had met his brother at Newmarket, from whence the duke of York set out for Scotland: this interview was no sooner known to Shaftsbury, than he called a council at Whitehall; and pressed them to present an address to his majesty, representing the danger to which his life was exposed from the duke's presence.

Monmouth
returns to
England
without
the king's
leave.

This turbulent nobleman finding himself expelled from the council, and from all share in the administration, advised Monmouth to return to England, even without the king's leave. Charles refused to see him when he arrived in London, but ordered him to leave the kingdom. Instead of obeying this command, he accompanied Shaftsbury in a progress through many parts of the kingdom, among thousands of people who assembled

to

to see this darling of the English nation. Such conduct seemed to indicate a design against the established government, and induced many persons of consideration to espouse the interest of the duke of York, rather than see their country reinvolved in the miseries of a civil war. Shaftsbury, by means of his emissaries, procured petitions to the king from different parts of the kingdom; demanding a parliament; and excited such a spirit of discontent against the government, as seemed to prognosticate a very dangerous rebellion. Charles was extremely incensed at the duke of Monmouth; and chagrined at seeing himself deserted by his counsellors. Lord Cavendish, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powel, discontinued their attendance at council; and some places in the admiralty were relinquished. All the antiministerial members were re-elected in the new parliament; and the whole nation was filled with murmurs, that foretold a storm like that which had swept his father from the throne.

A. C. 1679.

Burnet.
L'Estrange.
Rapin.

A. C. 1680.

The nearness and importance of the danger seemed to inspire him with more vigour than he was ever known to possess. The parliament meeting on the twenty-sixth day of January, he told them, in a short speech, that the present state of the nation rendered an intermission absolutely necessary; and therefore he prorogued them to the fifteenth day of April. Then he declared in council, that he had ordered the duke of York to return to court, judging his presence necessary at a time when questions were started, in which his interest was so nearly concerned. That prince returned in February, and was received by his brother with extraordinary marks of affection. In all probability, his advice and exhortations corroborated the king's resolution: so that he determined to try his strength with that restless faction which he could not appease. The partisans of the court

The opposite factions distinguished by the name of Whig and Tory.

A. C. 1680. retorted the practice of petitions upon their antagonists. They took care to provide a great number of addressees to his majesty, expressing their abhorrence of the licentious freedom which had been taken in demanding a parliament. One side was distinguished by the name of Petitioners; the other acquired the appellation of Abhorrrers. As their mutual animosity increased, they reviled each other in the most opprobrious terms. The party in the opposition compared the courtiers to the Irish banditti, called Tories; and they, on the other hand, expressed their contempt of the anticourtiers, by classing them under the title of Whigs, a term of reproach formerly given to the rigid covenanters of Scotland, who were supposed to live upon a kind of buttermilk called Whig in that country. From these beginnings were derived the famous names of Whig and Tory, which still serve to distinguish the factions of England, though they have strangely varied from their original signification.

The king's declaration with regard to the illegitimacy of Monmouth.

The whigs were headed by the earl of Shaftsbury, who was bent upon the ruin of the duke of York, in opposition to whom he set up the duke of Monmouth. He not only conducted him in the road to popularity, but circulated a report that the king had been actually married to Mrs. Walters the duke's mother; and that the contract of marriage was in a black box, intrusted to the care of Mr. Gilbert Gerard. The king, in a council assembled for the purpose, declared this rumour was false; and desired that a minute inquiry might be set on foot, to discover the author of such malicious slander. Gerard being summoned to appear, declared upon oath, that he never had any such contract in his hands, and never heard that any such writing existed. At last the king published a declaration, that he never was married, nor contracted to Mrs. Walters, or Barlow, mother to the duke of Monmouth,

mouth, nor to any person whatsoever, but queen ^{A. C. 1680.} Catharine. This declaration, attested by all the privy-counsellors then present, was entered upon record in the court of chancery. In the summer, the earl of Castlemain, and Cellier the midwife, were tried on account of the meal-tub plot, and acquitted; and the grand-jury threw out the bill of indictment against the countess of Powis.

Bedloe died in August at Bristol, and not only insisted upon the truth of his evidence against the jesuits, but also accused the duke and the queen of having been concerned in the design of introducing popery into England. He likewise declared he had many other circumstances to discover, of importance to the king and nation; and besought the chief-justice North, who visited him in his illness, to intercede with his majesty for some allowance on which he could subsist. This solicitation plainly proves he did not think himself dying, and invalidates the credit which is supposed due to a death-bed confession. Besides, if he was really guilty of the blood of so many innocent persons, he must have been hardened in a long course of villainy, beyond all sense of penitence and remorse.

Death of
Bedloe the
informer.

Though the court-party had of late gained ground, those in the opposition made strong efforts to retain their influence in the nation. Clayton the mayor of London, having named a person for sheriff, who was disagreeable to the faction, the common-hall rejected him, and chose Bethel and Cornish, two noted independents and republicans, who sacrificed their religion to their interest, so far as to take the oaths and the sacrament, and renounce the covenant, to qualify themselves for this employment. Then the common-council desired the mayor to petition the king to assemble the parliament: and a proclamation was in a few days published, to inform the public that the parliament

A. C. 1670. would assemble on the twenty-first day of October. Shaftsbury, attended by the earl of Huntington, the lords Russel, Cavendish, Grey, Brandon, Sir Henry Caverly, Sir Gilbert Gerard, and Sir William Cooper, appeared in Westminster-hall, and presented to the grand-jury of Middlesex a bill of indictment against the duke of York, as a popish recusant. Before the jury fixed on any determination concerning this unexpected presentment, they were suddenly dismissed by the chief-justice. This step in Shaftsbury was a declaration of eternal war against the duke of York, by which he ascertained his inviolate attachment to his party. Charles, alarmed at their presumption, thought proper to do something to render the parliament less implacable. He insisted upon his brother's returning to Scotland, until the storm should be overblown, assuring him he would never abandon his interest; and the duke, though not without reluctance, complied with his request.

The duke of York presented as a popish recusant.

Resentment of the commons in the new parliament against the duke of York.

When the parliament assembled, the king in his speech to both houses, informed them of his having concluded an alliance with Spain. He declared himself ready to concur with them in all reasonable expedients for the security of the protestant religion, provided no prejudice should be offered to the succession. He exhorted them to prosecute the inquiry into the conspiracy; demanded a supply for the support of Tangier, which he could not maintain without their assistance; and above all things recommended a strict union between them and him, as the chief article that would ensure the strength and prosperity of the nation. The commons having chosen their speaker, began the session by expelling some of their own members, who had subscribed the petitions of the abhorers: for the same reason they presented an address to the king, desiring he would remove from all public employ-

employment Sir George Jefferys recorder of London, and first judge of Chester. They inherited all the eagerness of the last parliament, with respect to the conspiracy. They received the informations of the new witnesses, Dangerfield, Jennison, Dugdale, and one Turberville; and they recommended Dr. Tongue to the king, for the first good benefice in the gift of the crown that should become vacant. The lords Russel and Capel expatiated upon all the steps which the government had taken to the prejudice of the nation. They imputed them wholly to the counsels of papists; and exaggerated the dangers to which the kingdom would be exposed from a popish successor. They were seconded by a great number of members, some of whom spoke of the duke in the most virulent terms. At length, the house renewed the votes which had passed against him in the former parliament, when lord Russel moved, that a committee should be appointed to bring in a bill for excluding the duke of York from the throne. This measure, so repugnant to the king's inclination, was espoused not only by the earl of Sunderland, but even by the duchess of Portsmouth, who in all probability thought, that should the duke of York be set aside, her son might have some chance for the succession.

There was now a very powerful party formed against the court, whether we respect the talents or the interest of those that were in the opposition; but Charles was assured of the church, which had ever adhered to lineal succession; of all those loyalists who detested fanaticism and republican principles; and of a great number, who, from a sincere regard to their country, dreaded the revival of that anarchy from which the nation had been so lately delivered. The motion for the bill

Arguments
for and
against the
bill of ex-
clusion.

A. C. 1680.

of exclusion produced violent debates in the lower house, which were maintained with great eloquence and vivacity. It was supported by lord Russell, Sir William Jones, Sir Francis Winnington, Sir Henry Capel, Sir William Pulteney, colonel Titus, Treby, Hambden, and Montague. It was opposed by Sir Leoline Jenkins secretary of state, Sir John Erneley chancellor of the exchequer, Sir William Temple, Hyde, and Seymour. The exclusionists asserted, That the king, lords, and commons of England, had a right to alter any part of the constitution: That the lineal succession to the crown of England had been often set aside; and that such an expedient was never so necessary as at the present juncture, when the duke's bigotry to the church of Rome, his connexions with catholic princes, and his own arbitrary disposition, threatened the nation with the re-establishment of popery, the persecution, and even the extirpation of the protestants; together with such acts of oppression as would instigate the people to take arms in their own defence, and intail another civil war upon the kingdom. Those who opposed the bill, argued that the right of succession was deemed a fundamental principle in all European monarchies; and had never been set aside but by successful usurpation or absolute tyranny: that it could never be altered, without exposing the kingdom to the most violent convulsions, unless the whole nation concurred in the change: that a legislature which deviates from a fundamental point of the constitution, subverts that very principle of authority on which itself is founded: that although individuals acquiesce in common laws enacted by a majority in parliament, the case would be very different, were the lineal succession to be altered. A very powerful party would oppose this violation of the constitution, and

numberless mischiefs would ensue; that the duke of York had solemnly promised his religion should never affect his public conduct; that the consideration of his own interest would prevent him from re-establishing a religion so diametrically opposite to the genius of the people; or, if that should prove too weak, the limitations which the king had proposed would effectually restrain him from giving way to the dictates of his superstition. Lastly, they observed, that the king was determined to risque every thing rather than sacrifice the right of succession; and therefore it would be necessary to consider the consequences of deriving their sovereignty to extremity.

Notwithstanding these arguments, the bill was carried by a great majority: but it met with another fate in the upper house, where the whole bench of bishops, except three, declared against it, as a dangerous innovation. It was defended by Shaftsbury, Essex, and Sunderland. They were answered by Hallifax, who displayed a surprising extent of capacity; and in eloquence far outshone his uncle Shaftsbury, against whom he was animated by resentment and emulation. The king was present at the debate, which was prolonged till eleven at night, when the bill was thrown out by a majority of thirty-three. The commons were extremely mortified at this disappointment; and so incensed against Hallifax, that they addressed the king to remove him from his councils and presence for ever, on pretence of his having advised the late prorogation of parliament. When the king, by a message, exhorted them to dispatch the affair of the conspiracy; and proceed to the trial of the lords in the Tower; they answered, that the delay was occasioned by the pernicious counsels of those who had advised him to dissolve the last parliament, and prorogue the present. Instead of complying with his

It passes in the lower house, and is thrown out by the lords.

A. C. 1660. his demand for the relief of Tangier, which was besieged by the king of Morocco, they recapitulated all the instances of misconduct, which his whole reign afforded: some of the members plainly said, that should they grant a sum of money for this service, it would in all probability be converted to another use. They observed that, although above a million had been raised for a new navy, the king had not built one single ship; that two millions, granted for the support of the triple alliance, had been employed to destroy that connection; and that the king had received a million to wage war with France, at a time when he was under a secret engagement with Lewis to effect a pacification. They drew up a remonstrance, in eighteen articles, representing the danger to which the nation was exposed, from the favour shewn to papists, and insinuating that the king was concerned in a conspiracy against the protestant religion, and the liberty of his people.

Trial of lord
Stafford.

They resolved to wreak their vengeance upon lord Stafford, one of the prisoners in the Tower, uncle to the duke of Norfolk, a nobleman of narrow understanding, and already overwhelmed with age and infirmities. On the thirtieth day of November, he was brought to trial by his peers, the chancellor, now created earl of Nottingham, being appointed lord high-steward for the occasion. The evidences against him were Dugdale, Oates, and Turberville. The first deposed that lord Stafford, at Tixhall, the house of lord Aston, had tempted him with the offer of five hundred pounds to murder the king. Oates swore, that he saw lord Stafford receive from Fenwick a commission for being paymaster-general to the army. Turberville declared, that he had conversed with lord Stafford at Paris, where he promised to make his fortune, if he would assassinate the king, who was a heretic,

a heretic, and a rebel against God Almighty. The prisoner made such a defence as equally surpris'd his friends and enemies. He prov'd Dugdale to be a knave, who had cheated lord Aston, defrauded his servants, and contracted debts, for which he had been committed to prison, from whence he had no other way of extricating himself but by turning informer. He likewise made it appear, that he was not at Tixhall on the day mentioned by the evidence. He invalidated the testimony of Oates, by enumerating the omissions, additions, and palpable contradictions in his former depositions; by reminding the court of his perfidious dissimulation in point of religion; his solemn abjurations and execrations to support that falshood by which he owned his credit was established among the jesuits; and the improbability that a man concerned in a conspiracy of such importance, should have been abandoned to that misery with which he was oppress'd when he first turned informer. He prov'd that Turberville had eloped from a convent, and turned trooper in the French service, from whence he had deserted: that he lived in the utmost indigence in London, and, had been heard to say, "By God! there is no better business than that of an informer:" and his servants swore they had never seen Turberville with their lord, either in France or in England. The prisoner observ'd, that through a course of forty years, he had preserv'd his loyalty in the midst of danger, difficulty, and civil confusion; and that it was not credible he should now, in his old age, when broken with infirmities, renounce the ease and affluence he enjoy'd, to belye his former conduct, and engage in such a villainous conspiracy against his sovereign, who had been always to him remarkably generous and indulgent.

A. C. 1550.

He is con-
demned and
executed.

Notwithstanding the strength of his defence, the simplicity of his deportment, and his pathetic protestations of innocence, he was convicted of high-treason by a majority of four and twenty voices. Hearing the verdict, he exclaimed, "God's holy name be praised!" When the high-steward gave him to understand that the peers would intercede with his majesty, that his sentence might be mitigated into decapitation, he shed a flood of tears, telling them he was not moved to this weakness by the fear of death, but by a deep sense of their goodness. Though he was not afraid to die, he discovered a desire of life; and sent a message to the lords, intimating that he would discover all he knew of any designs against the government. Being brought to the house, he disclosed some schemes in which he had been concerned, for obtaining a toleration in favour of the catholics; and mentioned the earl of Shaftsbury as one who had undertaken to procure this indulgence. The lords would not suffer him to proceed; but remanded him to the Tower, where he began to prepare for death with equal courage and resignation. On the twenty-ninth day of December he was brought to the scaffold, where, in the most earnest manner, he declared himself innocent of the crimes laid to his charge. He spoke of the witnesses with charity and compassion; disavowed all the murdering and immoral principles imputed to the Roman catholics; and expressed his hope that the public would soon be undeceived, and do justice to his injured reputation. The populace were melted at the meekness, piety, and resignation of this antient nobleman, whose character had been always untaunted, till the date of this accusation. When he repeated his protestations with regard to his innocence, they cried aloud, "We believe you, my lord---God bless you, my lord." Even the

the executioner was softened; he could not perform his office without hesitation and marks of sympathy; and when he held up the head, according to custom, exclaiming, "This is the head of a traitor," no expression of assent was heard: all was still, silent, and sorrowful.

This was the last blood shed on account of that pretended conspiracy, which was invented by a few needy miscreants, for the purpose of raising themselves from indigence and contempt; and afterwards fostered by a dangerous faction, to blow up the flames of discord through the kingdom. To answer this perfidious aim, they scrupled not to abuse a whole people; to exasperate them into a savage disregard of truth and common justice; and to exercise such acts of barbarity as will remain upon record, an indelible stain upon the character of the nation. The commons demanded other victims than lord Stafford, who had disappointed them greatly, in the hope they had conceived that he would make some discovery that would serve to keep up the general ferment, which now began to subside. They voted, that a bill should be brought in for banishing the most considerable papists from the kingdom: that while the catholics retained any hope of seeing the duke of York ascend the throne, the person of the king, the protestant religion, and the lives and liberties of the people, would be in imminent danger. Then they resolved to prepare a bill for an association to defend the king's person, the protestant religion, and all persons of that persuasion, against invasion and opposition; as well as to prevent the duke of York, or any other popish prince, from succeeding to the throne of England. They proposed several other bills, as restrictions on the prerogative; and, in an address, besought his majesty to grant his assent to an act of parliament for excluding his brother from the succession.

Charles,

A. C. 1680.

The commons oppose the court measures with redoubled vigour.

Burnet.
Norh.
Temple.
L'Estrange.
Ralph.

A. C. 1681. Charles, in his answer, said he was sorry to find them so much attached to the bill of exclusion, against which his own opinion was confirmed by that of the lords. He recommended to them the consideration of some other means for maintaining the protestant religion: he wished they would take cognizance of the state of the nation, and the situation of Christendom, in such a manner as would enable him to succour Tangier, support his alliances, and secure the peace of the kingdom. Before they received this answer, they had brought in a bill for exempting protestant nonconformists from the penalties imposed by an act in the reign of queen Elizabeth; and it passed through both houses: but the clerk of the crown concealed it, by the king's order; so that when he came to the house, it was not to be found. He had always declared for a general indulgence, the benefit of which would have extended to his catholic subjects: but he thought the presbyterians, whose interest predominated in this parliament, had little reason to expect he would indulge them with an exclusive toleration. The commons drew up articles of impeachment against lord chief-justice Scroggs, for having endeavoured to stifle the conspiracy; and for having dismissed the grand jury of Middlesex in an irregular manner, when the duke of York was presented as a popish recusant. They concurred with the lords in voting that there actually was, and had been for several years, a horrible conspiracy in Ireland, hatched by the papists, to massacre the protestants, and overturn the established government of that kingdom; and that the hope of seeing the duke of York upon the throne of England, had encouraged the said conspiracy. The lower house, after violent debates upon the king's last answer, resolved, that the act of exclusion was the only sufficient security for the king's life, the protestant

testant religion, and the established government: that, until such an act should pass, the commons could not grant any supplies, without endangering the king's person and the protestant religion, and betraying the people they represented: that all those who had advised his majesty to persist in opposing the bill of exclusion, had given pernicious counsel, were favourers of popery, and enemies to the king and kingdom. They resolved that an address should be presented to the king, desiring he would remove from his presence and councils the earls of Halifax, Worcester, Clarendon, Feverham, and Laurence Hyde. They voted, that whoever should lend money, or promote loans to the king, upon the customs, excise, or other taxes, or accept or purchase tallies, or anticipations, upon the king's revenues, should be deemed an enemy to parliaments, and prosecuted as such by the two houses.

These violent proceedings plainly demonstrated that they either intended to involve the kingdom in a civil war, or hoped the king's easy temper would be intimidated or influenced into a desertion of his brother's interest. Their insolence, however, served only to excite his resentment, without impairing his resolution. The duchess of Portsmouth fell upon her knees, and begged he would not ruin himself for the sake of his brother. Mr. Sidney, his ambassador at the Hague, transmitted to him a memorial written by Fagel, pensionary of Holland, to prove that the king could not support the duke of York, without abandoning the interests of Europe. He resisted all importunities and remonstrances with surprising fortitude; and, rather than injure his brother, resolved to prorogue the parliament. This was a power which he had not, like his father, resigned. The commons receiving intimation of his design, before he went to the house of lords, voted, in a tumultuous manner, that
 whoever

The king
dissolves the
parliament.

1688. **whoever** advised his majesty to prorogue the parliament, was a traitor to the king, the kingdom, and the protestant religion, a pensioner of France, and one who favoured the interests of that crown: that, in the opinion of the house, the acts made in the reign of queen Elizabeth, against popish recusants, ought not to extend to protestant dissenters; and that the prosecution of protestant nonconformists is an oppression upon the subject: that it weakens the protestant interest, encourages popery, and is productive of dangerous consequences to the kingdom: that thanks be given to the city of London for their loyalty, care, and vigilance, in the preservation of the king and the protestant religion: that, in the opinion of the house, the great fire of London was kindled by the papists, in order to introduce popery and arbitrary power: that an address be presented to his majesty, desiring him to restore the duke of Monmouth to all his offices, of which he had been divested by the influence of the duke of York. These votes had scarce passed when the usher of the black rod came and summoned them to the upper house, where the king passed some bills; and then the chancellor prorogued them till the twentieth day of January. In three days after this prorogation, the mayor and common-council of London presented an address to his majesty, beseeching him to re-assemble the parliament at the appointed time, that they might regulate the important affairs of the kingdom. This remonstrance served only to irritate the king, who issued a proclamation, dissolving the parliament. At the same time he convoked another to meet on the twenty first day of March; at Oxford.

Spirit and
violence of
the whigs.

Though he knew the interest of the presbyterians still prevailed in all the corporations, he resolved to try every expedient for obtaining a parliament that should be less implacable; and he was desirous of meeting

meeting them at a distance from London, which had been always unpropitious to him and his family. It was not without reason that he dreaded the inhabitants of this opulent city. They re-elected the four members who had represented them in the two last parliaments. They presented them with an address of thanks for their endeavours to obtain an act of exclusion against the duke of York. They expressed their hope that the members would never agree to any supplies, until the kingdom should be secured against popery and arbitrary power; and declared they would support them with their lives and fortunes. The example of London was followed by almost all the corporations in the kingdom; so that the king foresaw he should be at the head of the same parliament he had dissolved. The duke of Monmouth, with fifteen peers, presented an address to the king, petitioning that his majesty would not assemble the parliament at Oxford, where the two houses could not meet with safety, or debate with freedom, while exposed to the attempts of the papists, a great number of which had insinuated themselves into his majesty's guards. This was a mortifying remonstrance to Charles, who would not favour the petitioners with any answer, but eyed them with looks of indignation.

Each party had for some time reviled and ridiculed the other in pamphlets and libels; and this practice was attended with a remarkable incident. One Fitzharris, an Irish papist, dependent on the duchess of Portsmouth, for whose perusal he used to purchase those occasional satires, proposed to a Scotchman of the name of Everhard, to write a libel against the king and the duke of York. The Scot was actually a spy for the exclusionists. He believed this was a scheme to entrap him, and resolved to retort the intended mischief on the head of Fitzharris. He assented to the proposal, and

Information
by Fitz-
harris.

A.C. 1681.

they agreed to meet in a house where Everhard had previously posted Sir William Waller, an eminent justice of the peace, and two other persons, within hearing. There Fitzharris and Everhard composed a virulent libel against the king and his brother, replete with treason and scurrility. Waller immediately informed the king of this transaction, and obtained a warrant for apprehending Fitzharris, in whose pocket the libel was found. Seeing himself in the hands of justice, and knowing the management of all the former trials had been left to the country-party, he resolved to deserve their favour, and declared he had been employed by the court to write the libel, that the odium of it might be thrown upon the exclusionists. He said the intention of the ministry was to send copies of it to all the leaders of the opposition, and to arrest them immediately, as persons engaged in a conspiracy, the belief of which this paper would serve to confirm. He likewise pretended to make new discoveries about the popish plot, and told a great many improbable circumstances, which he had invented for the purpose. He was at first committed to Newgate; but the king, either believing that the opposite party would tamper with him, or hoping that he might be rendered useful to the designs of the court, granted an order for removing him to the Tower, where he is said to have been practised upon by Hawkins the chaplain, to own he was suborned by the country-party.

Parliament
at Oxford.

When the parliament assembled at Oxford, the members on both sides were armed and attended by their friends and adherents, as if they had expected an immediate rupture. The representatives of London, in particular, were surrounded by a numerous band of horsemen, distinguished by knots of ribbons inscribed "No popery, no slavery." The king's speech to this parliament was couched

couched in a very unusual file. He complained of A. C. 1681. the insupportable proceedings of the last house of commons; and plainly told them, that as he never intended to exercise arbitrary power over others, so he would not allow it to be exercised over himself. He said, if they would consider the provocations he had undergone, they would find more cause to wonder at his long patience, than at the resentment which he had lately expressed. He observed, that his assembling them upon this occasion plainly proved that no irregularities on their part should ever inspire him with a disgust for parliaments. He hoped the bad success of former animosities would dispose them to more moderation, and induce them to consider what steps it would be necessary to take in the present conjuncture. He expressed an earnest desire of removing all reasonable fears arising from the possibility of a popish successor; and added, that he would willingly listen to any practicable scheme for putting the government intirely into protestant hands, during the life of any prince who should profess the catholic religion. Some expedients had been suggested for this purpose; but they were even more disagreeable to the duke than was the bill of exclusion.

The commons having chosen the same speaker who filled the chair in the last parliament, ordered the votes to be printed every day, that the public might be acquainted with the subject of their deliberations. Then they set on foot a strict inquiry about the removal of the bill which had passed both houses in the last parliament, for repealing the statute of queen Elizabeth against nonconformists. They took under their cognizance the affair of Fitzharris, who had by this time retracted his first confession, on pretence that it was extorted by the country party. They resolved to try him by impeachment; and, to manifest their contempt for

The commons impeach Fitzharris.

A. C. 1687.

the court, ordered secretary Jenkins to carry up the articles to the house of lords. He was so incensed at being chosen for this employment, that he at first refused to comply with the order of the house; but he thought proper to submit, when they threatened to commit him for his disobedience. At the same time they voted the thanks of the house to Waller for his having arrested Fitzharris.

Expedients
proposed by
the king for
restricting a
popish suc-
cessor.

Their next step was to examine the expedients proposed in lieu of the bill of exclusion. It was proposed, That the duke should be banished, during life, to the distance of five hundred miles from any part of the British dominions: That the government should be wholly vested in a regent: That this office should be conferred upon the princess of Orange; and, in case of her death, devolve to her sister Anne: That should the duke of York have a son educated in the protestant religion, the said regent should act during his minority: That, though the kingdom should be governed in the name of James II. yet no man should take arms for him, or by virtue of his commission, on pain of being capitally punished: and, That the same penalty should be decreed against any person who should affirm that the simple title of King takes away all defects mentioned in this act, or in any shape eludes the obligation of it: That all officers, civil and military, should take an oath to observe this statute: That acts of the same nature should pass in the parliaments of Scotland and Ireland: That, in case the duke of York should enter either of the three kingdoms, he should be excluded "ipso facto," and the sovereignty devolve to the regent: That all papists of any consideration should be banished by name, and their children educated in the protestant religion. Rigorous as these expedients were, the commons rejected them, and resumed the bill of exclusion. In a word, the leaders of the oppo-
sition

fition were resolved to be dissatisfied with, every thing the king could propose, in hope of humbling him into the most abject submission. A. C. 1681.

The lords having rejected the impeachment against Fitzharris, and remitted his trial to the ordinary courts of judicature, the commons exclaimed against this refusal, which indeed was unprecedented. They voted, that the commons assembled in parliament had an undoubted right to impeach any person, whether peer or commoner, before the lords, for high treason, or any other crime whatsoever; and that the refusal of such an impeachment was a real denial of justice: that Edward Fitzharris having been impeached by the commons, the lords had denied justice, and violated the constitution of parliaments, in ordering him to be prosecuted at common law; and that no inferior court of judicature could proceed against Fitzharris, without violating the privileges of parliament. These violent resolutions being taken, they converted their attention to the bill of exclusion, against which no member presumed to speak, except secretary Jenkins, who underwent the most acrimonious raillery and derision. They had actually ordered the bill to be read a second time, when Charles, seizing the pretence of the quarrel between the two houses, stole upon them and dissolved the parliament, before they had the least intimation of his design. He forthwith stepped into his coach, and retired to Windsor; from whence he next day repaired to London, where he published a declaration, containing his reasons for dissolving the two last parliaments. He taxed the commons with having encouraged a spirit of cabal and sedition, which sought to shake the foundations of the monarchy, and raise an arbitrary power on the ruins of the constitution. The demagogues were confounded and abashed at this instance of vigour in a prince

The parliament is suddenly dissolved.

A. C. 1681. like Charles, who had been always remarkable for facility and irresolution.

Charles triumphs over all opposition.

Their insolence and presumption were instantaneously succeeded by fear and dejection; and they retired quietly to their own homes, without having concerted any measures for their future conduct. On the other hand, many persons of consequence, who had hitherto adhered to a neutrality, declared for the king; convinced by his late resolute conduct, that he had courage to protect those who served him, against the persecution of his enemies. His declaration was no sooner published, than addresses were brought to him from all quarters of the kingdom, filled with the warmest expressions of duty; inveighing against the presumption of the commons; applauding the dissolution of the parliament; and extolling the king's conduct in the most abject strain of adulation. They were greedily received by the king, though he knew how little he could depend upon such professions; while some addresses, penned in a different style, were rejected with marks of contempt or displeasure*. Fitzharris was, notwithstanding the vote of the commons, brought to his trial, found guilty of writing the libel, and condemned as a traitor. He pretended he had been suborned by Bethel and Cornish the two sheriffs, and Treby the recorder of London, to forge discoveries about the popish conspiracy; and persisted in this declaration at Tyburn. Nevertheless, he had sent a letter to his wife, in which he declared this was altogether false; and indeed it was supposed to have been extorted from him by promise of pardon.

Charles did not enjoy his triumph with moderation. His temper, which had been always easy

* At this period the duke of Richmond, the king's natural son by the dutchess of Portsmouth, was created knight of the garter, in the tenth year of his age; and Laurence Hyde was created earl of Rochester.

and

and merciful, became arbitrary, and even cruel. He entertained all the false witnesses and informers, who had been so infamously instrumental in shedding innocent blood. They had formerly served the purposes of the opposite faction. They now offered their services to the court, and met with a very favourable reception. The ministry seemed determined to retaliate and retort upon the whigs all the forgery and inhumanity which they had so long countenanced and supported. Fitzharris suffered in company with Oliver Plunket the titular archbishop of Armagh, a man of very moderate principles, who had always maintained a fair character, until he was accused by some profligate Irish priests, who came over to drive the trade of evidence. They were encouraged by the earl of Shaftsbury, though their information was absurd and contradictory, and their characters were in all respects vile and infamous. They swore Plunket had collected a vast sum of money, enlisted an army, and expected a descent from France to favour a massacre of the protestants. His defence consisted in an absolute denial of all that was laid to his charge; notwithstanding which he was convicted and condemned, and suffered death with great composure, protesting his innocence to the last moment of his life.

A. C. 1681.

Execution of Plunket, titular archbishop of Armagh.

The king, in order to convince the world of the superiority he had acquired, committed Shaftsbury to the Tower, and at the same time imprisoned several other persons of inferior rank, who had distinguished themselves as partizans of that party. Among these was one College, known by the name of the "Protestant joiner," a factious zealot, who had been used as a tool by the leaders of the party, and often spoke of the king and royal family with the most provoking insolence. He had accompanied the city-members to Oxford, armed with sword and pistol, and was now presented by the

Shaftsbury committed to the Tower.

Trial of College the protestant joiner.

A. C. 1681.

grand jury of London as guilty of sedition. Though the bill was returned "ignoramus," the court would not desist from prosecuting this unhappy man, who was the first victim devoted to their vengeance. After having been exposed to the most inhuman acts of oppression, he was conveyed to Oxford, on pretence of his having uttered treasonable expressions in that city. He was indicted for treason, and tried at the assize before a partial judge and packed jury. He was accused by Dugdale, Turberville, and others, who had prostituted their consciences against the catholics; and, when objections were made to their characters, the ministry observed that they were the same people whom the whigs had cherished and supported as evidences in the popish conspiracy. Nothing could be more savage and wicked than this kind of retaliation. Colledge made a vigorous defence, and proved himself innocent, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced spectator; nevertheless, he was found guilty, amidst the acclamations of the populace. He bore his fate with unshaken fortitude, and at his execution denied the crime for which he had been condemned.

Bill of indictment against Shaftsbury rejected by the grand jury.

Titus Oates, the original informer, was the only person of that stamp whose services were now rejected; he was, by an order of council, ignominiously expelled from Whitehall, and even forbid to come within a certain distance of that palace. But the king's resentment was chiefly directed against the earl of Shaftsbury, who had certainly harrassed him with the most implacable and indefatigable malice. No sums were spared to seek for evidence, and even to suborn witnesses against this nobleman. A bill of indictment being presented to the grand jury, the witnesses were examined in open court, and swore to such incredible circumstances as must have invalidated their testimony, even though they had

had not been already branded as perjured villains. A. C. 1682. Among his papers indeed there was a draught of an association, which might have been construed into treason; but it was not in the hand-writing of Shaftsbury, nor could his adversaries prove that he had ever communicated this scheme to any person, or signified his approbation of any such project. Bethel and Cornish had been succeeded in the office of sheriffs by Shute and Pilkington, men of the same principles; and they took care to summon a jury that rejected the bill of indictment against the earl: a circumstance so agreeable to the populace, that the whole city rung with acclamations.

In Scotland the court met with no opposition, Affairs of Scotland. even in the most arbitrary measures. The duke of York as king's commissioner had assembled the parliament of that kingdom in July. They passed an act, acknowledging that the crown of Scotland had, by an inherent right, by the nature of the monarchy, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom, always descended to the heir of blood; and that no law or consideration could alter the succession; they enacted another statute for imposing upon persons in office a test-oath, acknowledging the king's supremacy, renouncing the covenant, and espousing the doctrine of passive obedience: a clause, however, was admitted in favour of the protestant religion, ratifying an old confession of faith, in which the maxim of resistance was inculcated; so that the act was a collection of absurd contradictions, patched up in a hurry by people of different parties. A great number of ecclesiastics resigned their livings, rather than assent upon oath to such inconsistencies: the earl of Argyle refused to take it, without an explanation. He was a conscientious nobleman, of the presbyterian persuasion; he had adhered to the king in all his adversity, and been restored to his paternal honours and estate.

A.C. 1681

He was afterwards unjustly convicted and condemned for "leasing-making," upon an old absurd statute; and obtained his pardon. When the courtiers in Scotland proposed that the princes of the blood should be exempted from the test-oath, he argued strenuously against this exception; observing that the danger to which the protestant religion was chiefly exposed arose from the possible perversion of the royal family. By this opposition, he incurred the duke's displeasure; which, however, that prince carefully dissimulated. When the oath was tendered to Argyle, he said he took it as far as it was consistent with itself and the protestant religion; he declared he did not mean to bind himself up from endeavouring, consistently with his loyalty and conscience, to effect any alteration that might prove advantageous to church or state. For this expression he was committed prisoner to the castle, tried for leasing-making and perjury, convicted, and condemned to death. The king, however, ordered the execution of the sentence to be suspended until his pleasure should be farther known; in the mean time the earl escaped from his confinement, and took refuge in Holland. The partisans of the duke pretended that he had no design against the life of Argyle; but only against the hereditary jurisdictions, by which he maintained a very dangerous authority in the highlands.

The earl of Argyle condemned.

Cruelties exercised upon the covenanters of that kingdom.

The fanatics in Scotland continued to insult the law, through a misguided zeal for religion. They were actuated by two furious preachers, called Cameron and Cargill; the first was slain in a skirmish, after he had published a declaration at Dumfries, renouncing his allegiance to the king, because he had broke the covenant. Cargill was taken and executed, together with one Hackston, who had been concerned in the murder of archbishop Sharpe. This man was desperately wounded when taken.

He

He was tried in a summary way, lest his death should anticipate the stroke of justice. He endured the amputation of his hands without shrinking; and then asked, with great composure, if they chose to cut off his feet. He was afterwards hanged, and his heart being cut out, was seen to palpitate on the executioner's knife. About fifteen persons, male and female, suffered death rather than say, "God bless the king;" for, upon this condition, the duke offered to spare their lives. They gloried in their sufferings, and died in transports of joy. At length the duke, pitying their infatuation, put a stop to the executions, and ordered those poor deluded wretches to be kept to hard labour in a house of correction. In other respects, he persecuted the presbyterians with great severity, and even incurred the imputation of barbarity, by seeming curious to observe the agonies of some wretches who were put to the torture by the despotism of the government. The king having now obtained a complete victory over all opposition, the duke repaired to London, that he might share the fruits of his brother's good fortune; and acquired such an influence over Charles, that he in effect governed the three kings. He made another voyage to Scotland by sea, in the Dolphin frigate, which, chancing to strike upon a sand-bank in the passage, was lost. The duke saved himself in the long-boat, with a few persons whom he named for admittance. On this occasion he is said to have saved some obscure priests, and a number of favourite dogs, while many persons of distinction were left to perish. Such was the loyalty of the ship's crew, that when they saw him safe in the boat, they expressed their joy in loud-acclamations, though they knew that they themselves would be drowned in a few moments. The government of Scotland he left in the hands of the earls of Aberdeen and Queensberry: the first

A. C. 1651.

L'Efrange.
Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.
Hugue.

A. C. 1662.

A. C. 1692. first was chancellor and the other treasurer of that kingdom, which they ruled with rods of iron. The Scots, since the restoration, had been subjected to such a succession of tyrants, that the spirit of liberty was almost extinguished in the nation. The imposition of the test-oath was attended with such acts of oppression, that many thousands resolved to withdraw themselves into another country, where they might enjoy that liberty of conscience which was denied them at home; and they sent up agents to London to treat with the proprietors of Carolina about their settling in that colony. Yet, in the midst of all this despotism and national calamity, the duke had found means to conciliate the affections of the nobility and clergy; insomuch that the prelates of the kingdom wrote a letter to Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury, extolling in the most hyperbolical terms the duke's mild and upright administration, and in particular his affection to the church.

The king finds means to influence the elections of the magistracy in London.

The king finding his authority absolute, resolved to humble the presbyterians, and even practised the most unjustifiable methods for the gratification of his revenge; in which he was instigated by the violent counsels of his brother. The nonconformists were rigorously prosecuted, on the statute enacted in the reign of queen Elizabeth; all magistrates, judges, justices of the peace, and lieutenants of counties, suspected of leaning towards republican principles, were divested of their employments, and their places filled with approved Tories. The clergy testified their devotion to the court, in their writings and sermons: the pulpits resounded with the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance; and the king received an infinite number of addresses, professing the utmost abhorrence of the principles avowed in the association which had been found among Shaftsbury's papers. The mutual animosity

animosity between the two parties was now inflamed into rage and rancour: and Charles declared himself the head of a faction. The city of London still maintained its independence, and the sheriffs influenced the grand-jury in such a manner, as screened the presbyterians of that capital from oppression. Sir John Moor, the mayor, had been gained over to the court interest; and he named two persons for sheriffs who he knew would be agreeable to the ministry. The common-hall and the citizens taking the alarm, insisted upon an election by liveries, and Papillon and Dubois were elected by a great majority: nevertheless, the mayor carried on a separate poll in favour of North and Rich; and, being supported by the ministry, forced them upon the public. In the same irregular manner he secured a successor in the mayoralty, whom he knew devoted to the king's commands. This was a point of great importance to Charles, and so well understood by the earl of Shaftsbury, that he thought proper to quit the kingdom, and fix his residence in Holland; that very country, the ruin of which he had planned in the cabinet, and urged in parliament in the remarkable words "Delenda est Carthago." The duke of York, now that the magistracy of London was at his devotion, sued alderman Pilkington on a writ of Scandalum magnatum, for having said of him, when he heard of his return from Scotland, "He has already burned

Rapin.
Ralph.

"the city, and now he is coming to cut all our throats." For this indiscreet expression he was cast in damages to the amount of one hundred thousand pounds. Sir Patience Ward, who gave evidence in his behalf, being sued for perjury, was convicted and condemned to the pillory. The earl of Sunderland had been dismissed from his office of secretary of state when he voted for the bill of exclusion, and his place had been filled with lord

Con-

A. C. 1682. Conway ; but upon this nobleman's resignation, Sunderland was taken again into favour, and by some people suspected of having joined the exclusionists, on purpose to learn and betray their secrets to the ministry †.

A. C. 1683. Charles was at this time secure of the magistracy in London, but he foresaw a strong opposition at the next election, and that he would be every year exposed to the same struggles, and opposed, not only in London, but likewise in all the corporations which were under presbyterian management. While that interest prevailed he could never expect to see a parliament propitious to his desires; and he was so much involved in debts and difficulties, that he could hardly subsist without a parliamentary supply : he therefore formed a project for raising a despotic authority over all the corporations of England, He began with London, against which he issued a writ of " Quo warranto," to enquire into the validity of its charter, which he pretended the corporation had forfeited in two instances. They were charged with having imposed a toll, in order to defray the expence of rebuilding their markets after the fire of London, and of having presented an address to the king, containing a scandalous reflection upon his majesty and his administration. The cause was tried in the court of King's-Bench, and Treby and Pollexfen pleaded as counsellors for the city : they proved, that all corporations had a power to make bye-laws ; that subjects were invested with an inherent right to petition the king ; that the reflection in the address charged upon them as scandalous, was not levelled at the king, but his evil counsellors, who

He seizes
the charters
of the city.

† Prince Rupert, the duke of Lauderdale, the earls of Nottingham and Shaftsbury, died in the course of this year ; and Mr. Thyn was assassinated in the streets of London by count Coningsmark, two of whose accomplices were executed at Tyburn.

had

had advised him to prorogue the parliament; and they expatiated upon the injustice of annihilating a whole corporation for the faults of their magistrates, who were liable to prosecution as individuals. Notwithstanding these arguments, the judges, who were wholly influenced by the ministry, declared that the city of London had forfeited its privileges; and that its charter was at the king's disposal. The judgment, however, was not recorded until his majesty's pleasure should be known. The citizens of London were confounded and dismayed at this transaction. A common-council being assembled, the majority agreed to submit to the king's pleasure, before the sentence should be recorded. They accordingly presented a petition to that effect; and the king offered to restore their charter, on the following conditions: That no mayor or other officer of the commonalty should exercise his office until his election should be confirmed under the king's sign manual: That, in case his majesty should disapprove of their choice of a mayor and sheriffs, they should proceed to a new election; and provided the second should be disagreeable to the king, he should appoint persons of his own nomination; That the mayor and court of aldermen should be empowered to divest any alderman of his office, by the king's permission: that should any alderman, after his election be deemed incapable by the court of aldermen, the ward should be obliged to chuse another; and, should he prove unacceptable to the court, a third should be elected by the court itself; and that the justices of the peace in London should act only by virtue of the king's commission. These were severe terms, to which, however, the common-council submitted by a majority of eighteen voices. Other corporations, seeing the fate of London, were easily induced to surrender their charters into the hands of the king, from whence they were not retrieved.

A. C. 1681.

Other corporations voluntarily surrender their charters.

A. C. 1683. tried but by the payment of considerable sums of money.

Plan of an
insurrection
against the
government.

Such an arbitrary and cruel administration could hardly fail to produce designs against the government, in a nation abounding with people who entertained even the most extravagant notions of liberty. The earl of Shaftsbury, even before the last parliament, had engaged the duke of Monmouth, the lords Ruffel and Grey, to rise in arms and oppose the duke's succession at the death of Charles: they afterwards associated the earls of Effex and Salisbutey with them in the above design; but the imprisonment of Shaftsbury interrupted their consultations. These, however, were renewed when the new sheriffs were imposed upon the city; insurrections were planned, and correspondencies established in different parts of the kingdom. The confederates depended chiefly on the city of London, which was devoted to Shaftsbury, who, being afraid of trusting himself in any other place, lurked among the citizens, meditating the most desperate schemes that blasted ambition and revenge could dictate. The conspirators met at the house of one Shepherd, a wine merchant, in the city; they proposed their friends should rise in arms in London, Bristol, Devonshire, and Cheshire. The duke of Monmouth and Sir Thomas Armstrong viewed the guards; and were of opinion that they might be easily attacked and reduced. They agreed to a declaration for justifying their design to the public; but the enterprize was delayed in consequence of an intimation from Trenchard, who had undertaken to head the rising in the West, and now gave them to understand that he could not for some weeks be ready to take the field. Shaftsbury was so enraged at the delay, as well as intimidated by the authority which the king had established in the city, that he retired to Amsterdam,

sterdam, where he died very little regretted; tho' A. C. 1683 it must be allowed, that notwithstanding all his inconstancy, party-rage, dissimulation, and ruinous ambition, he was one of the most able and upright judges that ever presided in the court of chancery.

The chiefs of the conspiracy, after his departure, were the duke of Monmouth, the earl of Rye-house plot discovered by Keiling. Essex, the lords Russel and Howard, Algernoon Sidney, and John Hambden, grandson to the famous patriot who opposed Charles I. in the tax of ship-money: they corresponded with Argyle and the malcontents of Scotland, and still resolved to prosecute the scheme of insurrection, though they differed widely from each other in their motives. Monmouth aspired to the crown; Russel and Hambden proposed to exclude the duke of York from the succession, and redress the grievances of the nation; Sidney was a professed republican; Essex seemed to cherish the same principles; and lord Howard was an abandoned nobleman, who sought only to gratify his own interest and ambition. There was likewise a set of subordinate conspirators, consisting of colonel Rumsley, an old republican officer; lieutenant-colonel Walcot of the same stamp; Goodenough, under-sheriff of London; Ferguson, an hot headed, factious, independent minister, who had been one of Shaftsbury's tools; and several attorneys, merchants, and tradesmen of London; but of these none had access to the lords, except Rumsley and Ferguson. The inferior order at their meetings embraced the most desperate resolutions: they proposed to assassinate the king in his way to Newmarket. Rumbald, one of their number, possessed a farm on that road, called the Rye-house, whence the conspiracy was denominated "the Rye-house plot." They deliberated upon stop-
 NUMB. LXXV. O ping

A. C. 1683.

ping the king's coach, by overturning a cart in the highway at this place, and shooting him from the hedges. It was likewise proposed that his guards should be engaged by forty horse under Walcot, while Rumsey should assassinate his person. In the midst of these consultations the house in which the king resided at Newmarket taking fire, he quitted the place sooner than he intended: so that the conspirators were disappointed in their aim of dispatching him on his return to London; and this escape was afterwards magnified by the courtiers, as an interposition of providence. One of the conspirators, whose name was Keiling, finding himself in danger of a prosecution for being concerned in arresting the mayor of London, at the suit of Papillon and Dubois, the two excluded sheriffs, resolved to earn his pardon by discovering this plot to the ministry. Colonel Rumsey, and West a lawyer, no sooner understood that this man had informed against them, than they agreed to save their lives by turning king's evidences, and surrendered themselves accordingly. Shephard being apprehended, confessed all he knew, and warrants were issued against the chiefs of the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded, Grey escaped from the messenger by whom he had been arrested. Ruffel was committed to the Tower; Howard, being found concealed in a chimney, was base enough to purchase pardon by betraying his friends: he informed against Essex, Sidney, and Hambden, who were immediately secured, and many other conspirators detected and imprisoned.

Trial of
lord Ruffel.

Walter was first brought to trial, and condemned, together with Hone and Rouse, upon the evidence of Rumsey, West, and Shephard: they died with composure, acknowledging the justice of the sentence by virtue of which they were executed.

cuted. The same witnesses were produced against lord Ruffel, whom, however, they accused with great reluctance. He was the best beloved nobleman in the kingdom, and even his enemies could not help revering his virtues. The lord Howard swore he was engaged in the design of an insurrection, but all three acquitted him of any share in the scheme of assassination. His own candour would not allow him to deny the design in which he really was concerned, though the laws against treason were wrested for his conviction. After his condemnation the king was strongly solicited in his behalf. His father, the old earl of Bedford, offered to purchase his pardon of the dutchess of Portsmouth with the sum of one hundred thousand pounds; lord Ruffel's lady, daughter of the earl of Southampton, threw herself at the king's feet, in a flood of tears, and pleaded the merits of her father in behalf of her husband. Charles was inexorable: he dreaded the principles and popularity of lord Ruffel; he deeply resented that eagerness and perseverance with which he had opposed him in the late parliaments; he had even denied the king's power of remitting the barbarous part of the sentence pronounced against lord Stafford. Charles now mitigated his doom into simple decapitation, saying, "My lord Ruffel shall find I am possessed of that prerogative which he thought fit to deny me in the case of lord Stafford." Lord Cavendish, the intimate friend of Ruffel, offered to effect his escape, by exchanging apparel with him, and remaining a prisoner in his room; the duke of Monmouth sent a message to him, importing that he would surrender himself, if he thought that step would contribute to his safety. Lord Ruffel generously rejected both these expedients, and resigned himself to his fate with admirable fortitude. His

A. C. 1683. lady, that he might not be shocked in his last moments, summoned up the resolution of a heroine, and parted from him without shedding a tear. "Now (cried he) the bitterness of death is past;" and afterwards behaved with surprising serenity of temper, exhibiting some extraordinary marks of good humour. On the day that preceded his death his nose beginning to bleed, he said to Dr. Burnet, who attended him, "I shall not now let blood to divert this distemper; that will be done to-morrow." Immediately before he was conveyed to the scaffold he wound up his watch, saying, with a smile, "Now I have done with time, and must henceforth think solely of eternity." The scaffold was erected in Lincoln's inn-fields, that the triumph of the court might appear the more conspicuous in his being conveyed through the whole city of London. Even the populace wept as he passed along in the coach with Tillotson and Burnet. On the scaffold he presented a paper to the sheriffs, expressing his zeal against popery, protesting his own innocence with regard to any design against the king's life. He prayed God would preserve his majesty, and the protestant religion; and, without the least change of countenance, calmly submitted to the stroke of the executioner.

And of
Algernoon
Sidney.

The trial of Russel was followed by that of Algernoon Sidney, brother to the earl of Leicester, a bold commonwealth's man, in whom the spirit of the antient republics survived. He had been deeply concerned in the war against the king's father, though he vigorously opposed the usurpation of Cromwell. He afterwards used all his endeavours to prevent the restoration, and chose to live in voluntary exile, until his private affairs required his presence in England; then he solicited and obtain-
ed

ed the king's pardon. Notwithstanding this indulgence, he joined the popular party, and entered eagerly into all their schemes against the government, in hope of seeing at last a perfect republic established. Lord Howard was the sole witness that appeared against him: but the prosecutors produced some Discourses upon government, found among his papers; and affirmed that these were equivalent to another evidence. They were written in defence of liberty, maintaining the original contract upon which government was raised, and from which all power was derived; the lawfulness of resistance, in case of tyranny and oppression; and the maxim of preferring a republic to the government of a single person. There was nothing treasonable in these doctrines. The papers appeared to have been long written. They could neither prove them to be in his hand-writing, nor that he had ever communicated them to any person upon earth: and he observed, in his own defence, that in a charge of treason, the law absolutely required two living witnesses. All these arguments were urged without effect. A jury had been packed for his trial, and the charge was given against him with great virulence, by the inhuman Jeffries, now chief-justice. He was convicted of course, and in a few days executed. He complained of the iniquity of his sentence, by which he lost his life; but far from denying his connections with Ruffel, and the other conspirators, he gloried in his sufferings for the good old cause, in which, from his early youth, he had been enlisted.

Howard being the sole evidence against Hambden, this last was indicted for a misdemeanour only: and cast in a fine of forty thousand pounds. Holloway, a merchant of Bristol, one of the conspirators, had fled to the West-Indies, from whence

Fatal catastrophe of the earl of Essex.

A. C. 1683; he was now brought back to England. He submitted to the king's mercy, and was executed. Sir Thomas Armstrong had been outlawed for the conspiracy, and fled to Holland, where he was betrayed into the hands of Chudleigh the English minister, who sent him over to England. He demanded a fair trial, to which he was intitled by the statute, as the time prescribed for his surrendering himself was not yet elapsed. Jeffries declared he was not intitled to the benefit of the statute, because he had not surrendered voluntarily: he insulted him from the bench, and condemned him to die the death of a traitor, which he underwent with great resolution. No incident that distinguished this period was more remarkable than the death of the earl of Effex, prisoner in the Tower, who, on the morning of Ruffel's execution, was found murdered in his apartment, his throat being cut from ear to ear. Though the coroner's inquest brought in their verdict self-murder, and the earl had been known subject to fits of melancholy, some circumstances seemed to countenance a suspicion of his having fallen by another hand; and that suspicion did not even respect the king and his brother, who happened that morning to be in the Tower, which for many years before they had not visited. This, however, is a circumstance which might naturally be interpreted in their favour; for had they really been concerned in such an atrocious crime, they would have hardly appeared upon the scene; a step which could not fail to arouse the suspicion of the public. Two children declared, that they saw a hand throw a bloody razor from the casement. Lady Effex made a very minute inquiry into every circumstance relating to this tragedy, and communicated all the particulars to Dr. Burnet, who says there was not the

the least foundation for a prosecution. He informs us also, that the earl was not only subject to gloomy fits of the spleen, but a professed advocate for suicide. A. C. 1683.

The duke of Monmouth had engaged in a correspondence with the earl of Argyle, by whose means he hoped to be joined, or at least favoured by the covenanters in Scotland, who were indeed so cruelly oppressed by the government, that any risque was preferable to the misery they endured. Some of their leaders came to London, on pretence of treating with the proprietors of Carolina, and were consulted by lord Russel, and the other noblemen concerned in the Rye-house plot. Argyle, who then resided in Holland, undertook to supply the covenanters with arms, if the duke of Monmouth would remit eight thousand pounds for that purpose; and the agents from Scotland promised to bring their constituents into the field. Bailie of Jerviswood, a man of talents and integrity, managed this transaction; and he was apprehended among the persons concerned in the conspiracy. Being sent prisoner to Edinburgh, he suffered very rigorous treatment during a long confinement; and as the ministry could find no evidence against him, they insisted upon his purging himself by oath, of all suspicion of having been concerned in the Rye-house plot, otherwise they would hold him guilty. He objected against this imposition as an act of the most inhuman tyranny; he protested his innocence and abhorrence of all designs against the life of his majesty: but he refused to answer upon oath all the questions they might propose. He was therefore fined in six thousand pounds: and detained in prison to the manifest danger of his life. The duke of York was not satisfied with this punishment. He directed the Execution of Bailie in Scotland.

A. C. 1683. ministry to search for evidence against Bailie; and they employed the most unjust and scandalous means to gratify his revenge: at length the earl of Tarras, who had likewise been imprisoned on account of the conspiracy, and Murray of Philiphaugh, were induced by threats to swear that Bailie had tampered with them to rise in rebellion; and this unhappy gentleman was convicted of treason. He was already reduced to the brink of the grave, by hard usage and distemper; and the judges were so much afraid that death would disappoint the duke's expectation, that they ordered him to be executed immediately after condemnation. He to the last denied all knowledge of any design against the king's life, or that of the duke, looked upon death as a deliverance, and died like an old Roman.

The severities exercised in the latter part of this reign were generally ascribed to the influence of the duke; into whose hands the king, from indolence, had resigned the administration. The detection of this conspiracy furnished him with the means not only to crush the opposition, but also to wreak his vengeance upon his own particular enemies, under the colour of justice. The nation in general considered the assassination plot with horror, and as the people confounded this with the scheme for an insurrection, the whole party that opposed the crown began to lose their influence. Charles retrieved his popularity, and received the warmest addresses of congratulation from all parts of the kingdom. - The university of Oxford testified their zeal for his person and family, by a solemn judgment and decree passed in the convocation, against certain republican maxims and opinions, advanced and defended by Buchanan, Milton, Hobbes, Goodwin, Baxter, and other writers: These they declared

declared damnable and impious doctrines, serving to corrupt the morals and the minds of turbulent people, to excite tumults and rebellions, overturn states and kingdoms, and encourage regicide and atheism. In the midst of these prosecutions; the princess Anne, second daughter of the duke of York, was married to prince George, brother to the king of Denmark; and the nuptials were celebrated in London. As this city had not yet formally acknowledged their acquiescence in the sentence awarded against them, the king ordered the judgment on the "Quo warranto," to be recorded: then he seized the government into his own hands, and sent a commission to William Pritchard, continuing him in the office of mayor during his pleasure. He likewise confirmed the two sheriffs under the same restriction, but dismissed the recorder, and appointed another in his place.

A. C. 1683.

The princess
Anne mar-
ried to
prince
George of
Denmark.

The credit and power of the duke of York were now become terrible even to the ministry; and the earl of Halifax resolved to balance them with another influence. He discovered the place of Monmouth's retreat, and prevailed upon him to send two submissive letters to the king, which awakened all the paternal tenderness of Charles, who permitted him to appear at court, and even endeavoured to mediate a reconciliation between him and the duke of York. He prevailed with him to disclose the particulars of the conspiracy, upon promise that his testimony should never be produced against any of his friends and adherents. He called an extraordinary council, to tell the members that Monmouth was a sincere penitent; and had declared his resolution to avoid all such criminal designs for the future: a declaration to this purpose was inserted in the Gazette. Monmouth finding himself disgraced with all his party by this conduct,

The king is
reconciled
to Mon-
mouth,

no

A. C. 1683. no sooner obtained his pardon in form, than he denied he had ever made any such confession. His partisans believed this assertion, and declared the whole was a fiction of the ministry. Charles was so provoked by Monmouth's duplicity, that he banished him from his presence, and afterwards ordered him to quit the kingdom. He retired to Holland, where he was hospitably received by the prince of Orange, and afterwards corresponded with his father, whose fondness for him revived; though he carefully concealed it from the knowledge of the duke of York. In the month of September, the king sent a fleet, under the command of the earl of Dartmouth, to demolish the town and castle of Tangier, which he could no longer maintain without a parliamentary supply. The mole was entirely destroyed, and the garrison being brought over to England, helped to form a little army, which was kept up to over-awe the malcontents of the kingdom.

who never-
theless is
soon dis-
graced.

Sketch of
affairs on
the conti-
nent.

Charles no sooner found himself at liberty to consult his own inclinations, than he dropped all correspondence with Spain, and renewed his connections with Lewis king of France, against whose interest he had never acted without reluctance. Lewis, after the peace of Nimeguen, when other powers dismissed their forces, kept a great army on foot, dictated to the neighbouring states, and seemed to think himself within reach of universal monarchy. He erected chambers at Metz and Brisac for enquiring into titles, and resuming such territories as had ever belonged to his new conquests. These courts of jurisdiction summoned princes to appear before them, and issued decrees occasionally, expelling them from their dominions. Lewis took possession of the free town of Strasburg. He demanded Alost of the Spaniards; and, in consequence
of

of their refusing to cede that place, reduced Luxembourg. He sent a fleet to bombard Genoa, because that state had stipulated to build some gallees for the Spaniards; and they were fain to deprecate his resentment by the most abject submissions. Spain was so exasperated at the insolence of the French monarch, that, without considering her own weak-
 nesses, she declared war against him; and had the mortification to see him over-run all the Spanish Netherlands, without opposition. The prince of Orange in vain endeavoured to interest Holland and England in the quarrel. The French interest prevailed among the States-general, and Charles had neither means nor inclination to embark in the dispute. The emperor of Germany had oppressed his Hungarian subjects in such a manner, that they were driven to despair. The French ministers fomented their indignation, and they took arms under count Tekeli. This nobleman, finding himself unable to cope with the whole imperial power, solicited the protection of the Turks, who actually invaded Germany, and penetrated as far as Vienna, which they invested. The king of France assembled an army on the frontiers of the empire, in full confidence that Vienna would be taken, and the emperor ruined; and that the princes of Germany would appeal to him for protection. The city was already reduced to extremity by the grand vizier Cara Mustapha, at the head of one hundred and thirty thousand men, when John Sobieski king of Poland, marching to the relief of the place, compelled them to abandon the siege; and, on the second day of September, defeated them with great slaughter.

Burnet.
 Rapin.
 Ralph.

A. C. 1684.

At this period, Charles reigned as absolute as any monarch in Christendom; and his government was sullied with numberless instances of partiality and

A. C. 1684.
The great
credit, and
arbitrary
disposition of
the duke of
York.

and oppression. Cruelty was not natural to his disposition; and therefore we must impute them to the sanguinary temper of his brother, which he had not resolution enough to restrain. That he disapproved of his conduct in many cases, is highly probable. He appeared dissatisfied and unhappy even in the midst of his success and triumphs over his enemies. He was even heard to say, "Brother, I am too old to go again to my travels; you may, if you please." This expression was probably used in answer to some violent proposal of the duke. The earl of Danby was now released upon bail, after a long imprisonment. Lord Petre, one of the popish noblemen, committed on the evidence of Dangerfield, had died in the Tower, after having written a letter to the king; in which he, on the faith of a dying man, protested his own innocence. The other four were admitted to bail, although the former judges had declared, that it was not in their power to enlarge, upon any security whatsoever, a peer of the realm, who had been committed by the parliament. The duke of York was not so favourable to his friends, as implacable towards his enemies. Dutton Colt, who had been member of the three last parliaments, was accused of having called the duke a papist; of having declared he would be hanged at his own gate, rather than suffer such a prince to ascend the throne; and of having reviled him with many expressions of abuse. For these offences, he was sentenced to pay a fine of one hundred thousand pounds. The same fine was awarded against Titus Oates, for having said that the duke was a traitor. Two indictments for perjury were laid against him, but these were not tried till the next reign; in the mean time he remained in prison. Since the detection of the Rye-house plot, two and thirty persons were con-

demned in ruinous fines, and some of these likewise sentenced to the pillory. When Charles had obtained possession of all the charters that constituted the corporations in England, he published a declaration, thanking his subjects in the most affectionate terms, for having reposed such confidence in their sovereign; assuring them he would use it with moderation, and convince the most extravagant republicans, that as the crown was the origin of the people's rights, so it was the surest support of their liberties.

He was actually supposed to have planned a total change in his conduct. Those who undertake to justify or excuse his character, affirm that he intended to emancipate himself from that intolerable slavery in which he was held by his brother; to send the duke of York beyond sea, or into Scotland, to recal Monmouth, and assemble a free parliament. If this was the case, death anticipated the execution of his laudable design. He was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit; after which he languished a few days, and on the sixth of February expired, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty fifth of his reign. Notwithstanding the errors in his conduct, and the blemishes in his character, he was personally beloved by the people, who were overwhelmed with grief and astonishment at his death. This sorrow and surprise, cooperating with the terror of his successor, and the detestation of popery, ingenerated a suspicion of his having been taken off by poison; but this, upon inquiry, appeared without foundation. During his last illness, he received the sacrament from the hands of a catholic priest, and died in that communion. Two papers, written with his own hand, in defence of the Romish religion, were found in his closet; and the duke imprudently ordered them

A. C. 1685. to be published. They served no other purpose than that of stigmatizing the memory of his brother, and confirming the opinion of the public with regard to his own bigotry.

His character.

Charles II. was in his person tall and swarthy, and his countenance marked with strong, harsh lineaments. His penetration was keen, his judgment clear, his understanding extensive, his conversation lively and entertaining, and he possessed the talent of wit and ridicule. He was easy of access, polite, and affable: had he been limited to a private station, he would have passed for the most agreeable and best-natured man of the age in which he lived. His greatest enemies allow him to have been a civil husband, an obliging lover, an affectionate father, and an indulgent master: even as a prince, he manifested an aversion to cruelty and injustice. Yet these good qualities were more than over balanced by his weakness and defects. He was a scoffer at religion, and a libertine in his morals: careless, indolent, profuse, abandoned to effeminate pleasure, incapable of any noble enterprise, a stranger to manly friendship and gratitude, deaf to the voice of honour, blind to the allurements of glory, and, in a word, wholly destitute of every active virtue. Being himself unprincipled, he believed mankind were false, perfidious, and interested; and therefore he practised dissimulation for his own convenience. He was strongly attached to the French manners, government, and monarch: he was dissatisfied with his own limited prerogative. The majority of his own subjects he despised or hated, as hypocrites, fanatics, and republicans, who had persecuted his father and himself, and sought the destruction of the monarchy. In these sentiments, he could not be supposed to pursue the interest of the nation; on the contrary,

he seemed to think that his own safety was incompatible with the honour and advantage of his people. Had he been an absolute prince, the subjects would have found themselves quiet and happy under a mild administration; but harrassed as he was by a powerful opposition, and perplexed with perpetual indigence, he thought himself obliged, for his own ease and security, to prosecute measures which rendered his reign a misfortune to the kingdom; and intailed upon him the contempt of all the other powers in Europe. Yet that misfortune did not immediately affect the nation in its commercial concerns. Trade and manufacture flourished more in this reign, than at any other æra of the English monarchy. Industry was crowned with success; and the people in general lived in ease and affluence*.

Burnet.
Wellwood.
Sheffield.
Rapin.

* Charles had no issue by his queen, but left a numerous progeny of natural children, by different concubines; the dukes of Monmouth, Cleveland, Grafton, Richmond, and St. Albans, besides the undistinguished fruit of occasional commerce with a great variety of women.

In the reign of Charles II. the arts and sciences were cultivated with good success, tho' they were very little encouraged by the sovereign; ye he had himself made some proficiency in mechanics and chemistry, and was a good judge of genius. The most eminent men of the royal society, at its first institution, were the lord Brouncker, Sir Robert Murray, Dr. Wilkins bishop of Chester, Mr. Robert Boyle, who had made great progress in natural philosophy, and Dr. Ward afterwards bishop of Exeter, a profound mathematician.

This period likewise produced the immortal Newton, whose discoveries in nature will reflect eternal lustre on the nation that gave him birth; the learned Stillingfleet, the elegant, the rational Tillotson, besides many other excellent divines, such as Tension, Patrick, Loyd, and Burnet, who distinguished himself by his history of the reformation. The practice of medicine was greatly improved by the judicious Sydenham. The witty egotist Butler contributed more than any other person, by his poem of Hudibras, to bring fanaticism into contempt. The king admired this production, yet left the author to die in obscurity. Dryden shone unrivalled in poetry; but was vitious and incorrect, from the depravity of the public taste, and the hurry in which he was obliged to write for subsistence. Otway's tra-

gedias

A. C. 1685. *gedies* are celebrated above all others, for warmth and pathetic tenderness. He lived utterly neglected, and died of hunger. Even the courtiers of this reign were inspired with literary ambition. The duke of Buckingham acquired some reputation by writing the *Rehearsal*, to ridicule the false taste and absurdities of the dramatic writers. Rochester rendered himself famous for poignancy of satire and impurity. Wycherly displayed the genius of true comedy, tho' rude and licentious. The earls of Dorset, Roscommon, and Mulgrave, wrote with ease, spirit, and negligence. Halifax possessed refined talents; the writings of Sir William Temple are entertaining and instructive.

JAMES

J A M E S II.

IMmediately after the decease of Charles, A.C. 1684-5
his brother James was proclaimed in Lon-
don, without the least tumult or shadow of op-
position. On the contrary, the people seemed
to rejoice at his accession. On the first day of his
reign, he assembled the council at Whitehall. He
disclaimed arbitrary principles: declared he would
maintain the religion established by law, and de-
fend the liberties of his people, for which he had
already exposed his life upon more than one occa-
sion. His speech was printed and read with uni-
versal applause. All those who possessed employ-
ments under the late king were continued in their
respective offices by proclamation: this was another
popular step in the new monarch. The subjects
did not seem much dissatisfied even when he went
publicly to mass; but they began to be alarmed at
a proclamation which he issued, for continuing the
customs and excise, which had been granted to his
brother only for life. He ordered Hudleston to
publish an account of his brother's dying in the
Roman catholic faith; and produced the two
papers which had been found in his closet. The
funeral of that prince was celebrated without any
solemnity, and at a very little expence. The earl
of Rochester was appointed treasurer; his brother
Clarendon keeper of the privy-seal; and Hallifax,
now a marquis, was created president of the coun-
cil. The king received congratulatory addresses
from all parts of the kingdom, and some of them
couched in the most servile terms of adulation. He
and his queen were crowned on the twenty-third
day of April, when the populace observed that the

James II.
succeeds to
the throne.

A.C. 1684-5 royal diadem was too large for his head, and shook from side to side; a circumstance from which they deduced a bad omen.

Servility of
the Scottish
parliament.

On the day of the coronation, the parliament of Scotland was assembled by the duke of Queensberry, who represented the king's person as commissioner. That nobleman, though a faithful adherent to the royal family, assured the king that he could not serve him in any thing that should contradict the laws of his country. James, in his letter to the Scottish parliament, inveighed against the fanatics, whom he termed murderers and assassins; and desired the states would take proper measures to secure the kingdom against their machinations. The commissioner told them, his majesty was resolved to maintain and protect the established church, and the liberties of his subjects; and exhorted them to exterminate the fanatics. The earl of Perth, chancellor of that kingdom, extolled the king's virtues, and afterwards embraced the catholic religion; by which step he ingratiated himself so much with James, that he was able to supplant the duke of Queensberry. The parliament presented an abject address to the king on his accession: they confirmed the act of the preceding reign for maintaining the established religion: they annexed the excise to the crown: they enacted a statute, decreeing the penalties of treason and confiscation of goods, not only against those who should be present at conventicles, but even against such as should know and yet forbear giving testimony against traitors and nonconformists; and, in a vote which they called an offer of duty, they professed their abhorrence of all principles and positions derogatory to the king's sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute power.

Trial of
Oates for
perjury.

Before the meeting of the English parliament, which had been convoked for the nineteenth day
of

of May, Oates was tried in the court of king's ^{A.C.1684-5} bench, upon two indictments of perjury; and convicted upon the evidence of above sixty reputable witnesses, nine of whom were protestants. He was sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand marks; to be scourged through the streets by the hangman twice in three days; to stand in the pillory at different parts of London and Westminster; to undergo this infamy once every year, and be imprisoned for life. Jeffries insulted him from the bench, and the executioner performed his office with great severity. He bore his fate with surprising resolution, protesting his innocence in the most solemn manner; was cherished and supported by a numerous party, who looked upon him as a martyr to the protestant religion; and, in the subsequent reign, he obtained his liberty, with a pension of four hundred pounds. Dangerfield, being also convicted of perjury, was sentenced to be scourged, and to pay a fine of five thousand pounds. After having undergone this corporal punishment, one Francis, a student in the law, reviled him with some acrimonious expressions; to which he replied with such virulence, as provoked the aggressor to push a small cane into his eye. Dangerfield died in two hours; and Francis, being convicted of the murder, was executed; notwithstanding the most earnest solicitations of some persons of great interest.

The parliament having met and chosen their speaker, the king, in his speech to both houses, repeated the promises he had made to his council, touching the maintenance of the English church, and the liberties of the people. He demanded a supply for the support of the fleet and the occasions of the crown, assuring them that the more liberal they should be, he would always be the better disposed to meet them often. He gave them to understand, that the earl of Argyle had landed in Complaisance of the English parliament.

A. C. 1684-5 Scotland, with a view to excite a rebellion, for which purpose he had brought arms and officers from Holland, and published two manifestos, accusing the king of tyranny and usurpation. The parliament were charmed with the king's speech; and that same day presented an address of thanks, in answer to which, he assured them they would find him a man of his word. The commons immediately voted, that all the revenues enjoyed by the late king should be granted to his majesty for the term of his life; and the upper house discharged the earl of Danby and the popish lords from their bail. They brought in a bill for reversing the attainder of lord Stafford, on the supposition of his having been falsely accused; and it passed by a majority, though not without great opposition, and a protestation of those lords by whom it was opposed. The commons, however, rejected the bill; for how complaisant soever they might be to the king, they had no intention to encourage the Roman catholic party. Not but that the art of corruption had been exercised in a shameful manner, to procure such a parliament as would enter into all the king's measures. The boroughs of England, by the seizure of their charters; were left intirely at the mercy of the court, and the corporation-men obliged to chuse such members as were agreeable to the administration. The two houses voted, that they would assist the king with their whole power against the earl of Argyle and all other traitors. The committee for the affairs of religion prepared a vote for assisting the king in defending the established church; and another, that his majesty should be desired, in an address, to execute the laws against nonconformists: but these were rejected by the house, on the supposition that they would be displeasing to the king, who was himself a nonconformist. But they unanimously

mously passed the following vote, That the house A.C. 1684-5
 reposed itself intirely on the king's word and declaration, that he would support and defend the English church as by law established, which was dearer to them than their lives. The same expression was used in the speaker's speech to the king, when he came to the parliament to pass the bill for his revenue.

The earl of Argyle thinking himself released from the ties of allegiance by the injuries he had sustained, waited at Amsterdam for a favourable opportunity to raise an insurrection of his countrymen against James, who was the author of his misfortunes. He knew the presbyterians of Scotland were reduced to despair by oppression; and he did not doubt but they would join him at his first appearance. He held many conferences with the duke of Monmouth, who was likewise a refugee in Holland, and very well disposed to act against the king of England; and they formed the scheme of a double insurrection. Argyle persuaded the duke to try his fortune among the whigs in the west of England, who loved him almost to adoration: but they were destitute of money to forward the undertaking, and Monmouth had received no assurances of being joined at his landing by any person of consideration. At length, Argyle, being supplied with a sum of money by a rich widow in Amsterdam, purchased arms and ammunition for his enterprize, and set sail for Scotland, after having extorted the duke's promise that he would make a descent in England, as soon as he should hear of Argyle's arrival in the Highlands. This nobleman embarked with some Scottish officers; and, on the fifth day of May being off the Orkneys, sent his secretary on shore to sound the inhabitants, by whom he was detained prisoner. The earl, disappointed in this quarter, sailed round to Dunstaff-

The earl of Argyle makes a descent in Scotland.

A.C. 1684-5

nage, an old castle on his own estate, which he converted into a place of arms. He was immediately joined by five and twenty hundred of his own vassals and dependents: then he published his manifestos, and wrote circular letters to his friends; but they had been previously secured by an order of council, upon the news of his arrival at the Orkneys. By means of his three ships, and a great number of small boats, he transplanted his men to the isle of Bute, where he remained unactive until he received intelligence that three ships of war and some frigates were ordered to distress him by sea, while the duke of Gordon, the marquis of Athol, and the earl of Arran, advanced against him by land, at the head of different bodies of forces. Thence he passed over into Argyleshire, from whence he marched towards Dumbarton, after having moved his artillery and ammunition into another castle, and left a small garrison for its defence. The place was immediately taken, and his vessels fell into the hands of the enemy. This loss discouraged him and his followers to such a degree, that they now thought of nothing but providing for their own safety. Finding themselves hotly pursued from place to place, they dispersed into small bodies, that they might have the better chance for escaping. The earl himself, after having been wounded, thought proper to quit his horse, and was taken by a peasant, standing up to his neck in water. Being conducted to Edinburgh, he began to prepare for death with the most chearful resignation; and in a few days was beheaded, in consequence of his former sentence. Rumbold, owner of the Rye-house, who had accompanied him in this expedition, together with one Aylaffe, nearly allied to the old earl of Clarendon, were brought to trial in London, and condemned. Rumbold denied that the persons in the Rye-house plot had
ever

Is taken,
and executed.

ever formed a resolution to assassinate the king. He laughed at the notion of divine hereditary right: believed that allegiance and protection were reciprocal. He said he could not think God had made the greater part of mankind with saddles on their backs and bridles in their mouths, and a few with boots and spurs to ride them at their pleasure. Aylaffe was examined by the king in person, who exhorted him to discover their correspondents in England, saying, "Mr. Aylaffe, you know it is in my power to pardon you." He boldly replied, that although it was in his power, it was not in his nature: and the king would not disprove the truth of the assertion, for both were executed.

The duke of Monmouth, according to his promise, sailed from the Texel with three vessels, on the twenty-fourth day of May, and on the eleventh day of June landed with about fourscore followers at Lyme in Dorsetshire, of which he took possession without resistance. Here he published a manifesto, conceived in very bitter terms against the king, whom he reproached as author of the fire of London, of the popish plot, the murder of Godfrey, the assassination of Essex, the dissolution of parliaments, the subornation of juries, the most flagrant acts of tyranny and oppression. He taxed him with having poisoned his brother; declared he himself was come to redress the grievances of the nation; that his mother had been the lawful wife of Charles; and he invited the people to join him in his laudable undertaking. The parliament was no sooner informed of Monmouth's landing, than they presented an address to the king, assuring him of their zeal and assistance in quelling this rebellion. They besought him to publish a proclamation, offering a reward of five thousand pounds to any person who should take the duke dead or alive: and they brought in a bill of attainder against him; which,

The duke of Monmouth lands in the west of England.

A. C. 1685. in two days, passed through both houses. They likewise voted a grant to the king of four hundred thousand pounds for his present occasions: then the parliament was adjourned. The country people flocked to the standard of Monmouth so fast, that in two or three days his army was augmented to two thousand men; but he was not joined by any person of consequence. Receiving intimation that the duke of Albemarle advanced with a strong body of militia to block him up in Lyme, he marched to Axminster; and Albemarle retreated with precipitation. At Taunton the duke of Monmouth was received amidst the loud acclamations of the people: his army being considerably increased, he assumed the title of King, and was proclaimed with great solemnity. He then issued a proclamation, setting a price upon the head of the duke of York; a second, declaring the present parliament a seditious assembly; and the third, denouncing Albemarle a traitor. On the twenty-first day of June he marched to Bridgewater, where he was likewise well received; and from thence advanced to the neighbourhood of Bristol, the inhabitants of which were well affected to his person and design; but they were kept in awe by their governor, the duke of Beaufort. Monmouth understanding that the king's troops were on the march to give him battle, resolved to retire to Bridgewater. He was refused admittance into Bath; but he entered Froome without opposition. The king was not a little perplexed and alarmed at his progress. The regular troops being dispersed through different parts of the kingdom, he ordered the militia of the western counties to be raised: he recalled six regiments of English and Scots that were in the service of the States-general. The prince of Orange offered to come over and assist him in person; but this offer he declined. Having assembled

Assembled about three thousand foot and dragoons, A. C. 1685. he bestowed the command of this little army upon the earl of Feversham, nephew to the famous marshal de Turenne; and this nobleman took post at Sedgemore, a village in the neighbourhood of Bridgewater, while the militia of that country was assembled by the dukes of Beaufort, Somerset, Albemarle, and the earl of Pembroke.

Monmouth, who had returned to Bridgewater, finding himself in danger of being surrounded by the enemy, whose number every day increased, resolved to attack the earl of Feversham at Sedgemore. On the fifth of July, he began his march about eleven at night in profound silence; but falling in with Dumbarton's regiment, which happened to be in an advanced post, they alarmed the royalists, who were soon provided for his reception. The action began at day-break; and lord Grey, who commanded Monmouth's horse, was routed at the first onset. The duke, at the head of the infantry, maintained his ground with great gallantry, until he was charged in flank by the victorious horse of the enemy, and his men would no longer stand to their arms. About three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit. He retired with about fifty horse; but these soon dispersed, and he rode towards Dorsetshire until his horse could carry him no farther. Then he alighted, and exchanging apparel with a shepherd, fled on foot, attended by a German count, who had accompanied him from Holland. Being quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they lay down in a field, and covered themselves with straw. The shepherd being found in his cloaths, was brought to lord Lumley, who, from his information and the sagacity of some hounds, detected the duke in this forlorn situation, with raw peas in his pocket, which he had gathered

Is defeated and brought to the block.

ed

A. C. 1683. ed in the fields to sustain life. His spirit had quite forsaken him; and he manifested the meanest dejection. He wrote a piteous letter to the king, imploring his compassion; and another to the queen dowager, craving her mediation. She interceded for him, and obtained the king's promise to give him an audience. At this interview the duke fell upon his knees, and begged his life in the most abject terms. James asked him several questions; desired him to sign a paper, declaring the late king had assured him that he had never been married nor contracted to the duke's mother. When he had made this acknowledgment, the king told him his crime was of such a nature, that it could not be pardoned; and that he had nothing to do but to prepare himself for another world. The queen, who was present, is said to have insulted him in the most outrageous manner. The duke, perceiving he had nothing to hope from the clemency of his uncle, recollected his spirits, rose and retired with an air of disdain; nevertheless, he renewed his intreaties for life, and even begged a respite for a few days, which was denied. All hopes being vanished, he composed himself for death, which he encountered with indifference. On the scaffold he professed his sorrow for the blood which had been shed; and declared he had ever meant well to the nation. He touched the ax, and said, it was not sharp enough. He gave the executioner half of what he intended for his reward, telling him his servant would give the rest, provided he should perform his part with dexterity, and not behave so butcherly as he had done at the death of lord Ruffel. The man was seized with an universal trepidation. When the duke laid down his head and made the signal, he struck three times ineffectually, and then threw down the ax; but the sheriff

sheriff compelled him to resume the work, which with three other strokes he finished. The head and body were buried immediately in the chapel of the Tower. Such was the lamentable fate of James Duke of Monmouth, the darling of the English people. He was brave, soft, and gentle, sincere, and good-natured, open to flattery, and addicted to pleasure. Lord Grey was also taken; but he compounded for his life, by paying large sums of money, and discovering all the connections of Monmouth.

The king, however, was not satisfied with the vengeance he had taken. His officers acted with the most savage inhumanity towards the prisoners that were taken at Sedgemoor. Feversham ordered above twenty to be hanged immediately after the action. Nineteen were put to death in the same manner at Bridgewater by colonel Kirke, a brutal soldier who had served at Tangier. He continued to execute others occasionally, for his diversion, with such circumstances of wanton barbarity as are shocking to human nature. He ravaged the whole country, without making the least distinction between friend or foe. He allowed his soldiers to live upon free-quarter, and his own regiment, which was the most outrageous, he distinguished by the name of Kirke's lambs; an appellation still remembered with horror in that part of the country. The inhumanity of this ruffian was properly seconded by the furious Jeffries, who was sent on the western circuit, as another minister of the king's vengeance. His natural brutality and thirst of blood were inflamed with continual intoxication. He told the prisoners, that if they would save him the trouble of trying them, they might expect some favour; otherwise he would execute the law upon them with the utmost severity.

Cruelty of
Kirke and
Jeffries.

A.C. 1683. rity. Many poor wretches were thus decoyed into confession; but they found no mercy. He threatened juries, intimidated witnesses, rejected all intercession, and seemed to take pleasure in the work of death. At Dorchester, he ordered nine and twenty persons to be executed immediately after conviction. In this town two hundred and ninety-two received sentence of death. He prosecuted the same work of carnage at Exeter and Taunton. Two hundred and fifty persons were in this circuit sacrificed, under colour of justice.

Execution
of lady Lisle
and others.

Lady Lisle, widow of one of the regicides, tho' herself a loyalist, was apprehended, in extreme old age, for having sheltered in her house two fugitives from the battle of Sedgemore. She proved that she had ordered her servant to carry an information against them to the next justice of the peace, as soon as she knew in what enterprize they had been engaged. Twice the jury declared her not guilty: Jeffries sent them back with dreadful menaces; and at last they were intimidated into a verdict, by which she lost her life. In vain was intercession made for this aged matron. The king lent a deaf ear to all that could be said in her behalf; and she suffered an ignominious death. One of the rebels having escaped to London, took refuge in the house of Mrs. Gaunt an anabaptist, whose life was one continued exercise of benevolence. She concealed and maintained this fugitive, who was such an abandoned villain, that he informed against his protectress, for the reward and indemnity offered in a proclamation to those who should discover delinquents. He was pardoned and recompensed for his treachery: and she was burned alive for her beneficence. Those people in the West who escaped death, were ruined by fines, scourged, banished, and imprisoned. Cornish the sheriff, who had been

so active against the court, being accused of treason by Goodenough and Rumsley, was prosecuted so eagerly, that in the space of one week, he was tried, condemned, and executed. After his death the perjury of the evidences appeared so flagrant, that the king himself expressed some regret; granted the estate to his family, and condemned the witnesses to perpetual imprisonment. A surgeon of the name of Batteman, who had attended Oates with care and humanity, and cured him of the stripes he had received at the hands of justice, was accused of having uttered seditious discourse against the government, and committed to prison, where he lost the use of his reason: nevertheless, he was brought to trial, condemned, and executed.

Nothing could be more flourishing than the king's present situation. He had quelled two dangerous rebellions; trampled faction under foot; and obtained a parliament that complied with all his desires. He saw a standing army at his beck; heard the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance echoed from every corner, as articles of the English creed; and found himself courted by foreign states, as a prince who had it in his power to regulate the interests of Europe. But he had nothing so much at heart as the conversion of his people to the catholic religion. His own zeal was in this particular reinforced by that of the queen, who was a bigotted Italian, and continually whetted by the importunities and exhortations of some hotbrained jesuits, who had acquired the most absolute influence and tyranny over his conscience. His brother, even in his last agonies, dissuaded him from endeavouring to restore the catholic religion in England, because he thought it was a scheme extremely hazardous, and even impracticable. Don Pedro Ronquillo the Spanish ambassador,

A. C. 1685; dor, in his first audience observed to him, that he saw a great number of priests about his majesty's person; he therefore took the liberty to caution him against their importunities, lest he should repent of having listened to them, when it would be too late. The king took amiss the freedom of his advice; and asked, with an air of discontent, if the king of Spain consulted with priests. "Yes," (replied Ronquillo) and for that reason our affairs "are so unprosperous." Pope Innocent XI. in a brief to James on his accession, after having commended his zeal for the catholic religion, expressed his apprehension that it might carry him too far, and, instead of contributing to the advancement of his own affairs, and the interest of religion, be of extreme prejudice to both. Notwithstanding these cautions, he resolved to proceed with his enterprise; as a previous step to which he thought it would be necessary to render himself absolute, and then he should be able to employ the most effectual means of converting his subjects.

Government of Ireland conferred upon Tyrconnel.

The duke of Ormond, who had deserved better of the royal family than any subject in the king's dominions, and was in all respects a nobleman of unblemished honour, had for some time governed Ireland as lord lieutenant. Being a conscientious protestant, he was now recalled. The king appointed a new privy-council for that kingdom, and many members were catholics; these daily increased, until they became the majority. The protestants were now scandalously oppressed, on pretence of their favouring Monmouth's rebellion; and at length the militia was wholly disarmed. Colonel Talbot, a furious papist, was empowered to model the army; and he dismissed the greater part of the protestant officers, filling their places with those of his own religion. After having performed this signal service, he came over to England,

where

where he was created earl of Tyrconnel, and lieutenant-general of the Irish army, while the earl of Clarendon, though a protestant, was appointed lord-lieutenant of the kingdom.

A. C. 1685.

The king's next step was to augment his standing army from seven thousand to fifteen thousand men. When the parliament met on the ninth day of November, he told them he had found by experience a militia altogether useless, and such a standing force absolutely necessary to preserve the peace of the kingdom. He therefore demanded a proportionable supply for their maintenance. With respect to the catholic officers whom he had employed, he said, they were men of approved fidelity; and that, after having enjoyed the benefit of their services, in times of danger and difficulty, he would not expose them to misfortune, nor himself to the necessity of being without them, in case of another rebellion. He concluded with a declaration, that he would risk his life for the true interest of the kingdom; and therefore he hoped, there would be no interruption of the harmony subsisting between him and his parliament. The two houses, notwithstanding their excessive loyalty, began to be alarmed at the king's large strides towards popery and arbitrary power. In the house of lords, the motion for an address of thanks to the king for his speech met with great opposition; and though it passed by a small majority, the house resolved to take the speech into further consideration. When it was read in the house of commons, a profound silence ensued. This was interrupted by the earl of Middleton, secretary of state, who moved for an address of thanks to his majesty. After a second pause, lord Castleton opposed the motion; and the consideration of it was referred till the twelfth day of November. Then they debated with great freedom upon the consequences of a standing army,
and

Prerogation
of parliament.

A. C. 1645. and the demand of a further supply, after so much had been given. But the interest of the court predominated, and seven hundred thousand pounds were voted for the maintenance of the forces. Their complaisance, however, gave way to their fears, when they considered that article of the speech in which the king frankly told them, he had dispensed with the laws in favour of popish officers. In this address, they thanked him for having quelled the rebellions; but they represented that the test-act rendered popish recusants incapable of exercising any employment under the government. That as his majesty had mentioned the services of the Roman catholic officers, they would prepare a bill for exempting them from the penalties they had incurred; but as by continuing them in their employments, he assumed the power of dispensing with the laws; a power of the utmost consequence with respect to the liberties of the people, and the security of religion; they humbly besought his majesty to give orders for quieting intirely the fears of his faithful subjects. To this address the king replied, That he did not expect such a remonstrance from the commons, after he had demonstrated the advantages that would arise from a perfect union between him and his parliament; but he declared that in whatever shape they might abuse the confidence which he had reposed in them, he should still punctually perform the promises he had made. This answer struck them with such a panic, that not a word was spoken for some time after they returned to their house. At length Cook member for Derby rose up, saying, "I hope we are
" all true-born Englishmen; and that a few hard
" words are incapable of deterring us from doing
" our duty." The majority were so intimidated, that they sent him to the Tower for this honest expression.

pression. They began to deliberate on ways and means for raising the seven hundred thousand pounds which they had granted; and, in order to appease the king, they resolved to bring in a bill, empowering him to name a certain number of catholic officers to serve in the army. But as he could not obtain the extent of his wishes, he in a few days prorogued the parliament: the prorogation was continued from time to time, and at length it was totally dissolved.

The earl of Stamford and lord Delamere had been committed to the Tower in July, upon a general accusation of treason, and debarred all intercourse with their friends, by word or writing. They found means, however, to petition the house of lords, who desired the king would be pleased to declare the cause of their imprisonment. He told them those two lords were accused of treason; and that he had given orders for trying lord Delamere in Cheshire, where the crime was said to have been committed. As he did not signify his intention with regard to the earl of Stamford, the lords ordered that nobleman to be tried by his peers, with the consent of his majesty. Delamere was likewise tried in the same manner, contrary to the king's first resolution. The lords Howard and Grey, with another infamous informer, were produced in evidence against him. The two first said little or nothing to his prejudice: the last swore he corresponded with the duke of Monmouth; but no regard was paid to his deposition, and the prisoner was acquitted. The earl of Stamford they admitted to bail, and he afterwards availed himself of a general pardon, which the king granted by proclamation, in the course of the succeeding year. By this time the earl of Arlington was dead, and his place of chamberlain bestowed upon the earl of Mulgrave, who acquired a great share of

Trial of
lord Delamere.

Burnet.
Rapin.
Ralph.

A. C. 1686. the king's favour. Sunderland was appointed secretary of state, and became, in effect, prime-minister.

The French king revokes the edict of Nantz.

Popery now appeared more dreadful to England than even the prospect of slavery and temporal oppression; and what aggravated the terrors of the catholic communion, and the animosity against princes who professed that religion, was a late measure of Lewis XIV. diametrically opposite to good faith, humanity, and the interest of his kingdom. He revoked the edict of Nantz, by which Henry IV. had secured his protestant subjects in the exercise of their religion. This law, which had been declared irrevocable, he repealed; and persecuted those unhappy people with such severity and injustice, that above half a million of his most industrious subjects fled from their native country into other realms, where they could enjoy liberty of conscience. Together with great sums of money, they exported from France those arts and manufactures by which that kingdom had been enriched. Fifty thousand of these refugees arrived in England, and were hospitably received by James, who treated them with great humanity; and affected to exclaim against the persecuting spirit of the French monarch. They drew such pathetic pictures of the cruel sufferings they had undergone, as inflamed the people against the catholic religion; and the king's conduct in other respects did not serve to assuage their resentment.

In Scotland the parliament was assembled by the earl of Moray, who in complaisance to the king had changed his religion. He delivered to them a letter from his majesty, recommending to their care and humanity his poor catholic subjects, who had always been faithful to the crown, that they might enjoy the protection of the laws, without taking oaths that were repugnant to their consciences

sciences and religion. This letter produced warm debates. At length a bill was brought in for indulging catholics with the private exercise of their worship; but it was violently opposed and deferred to further consideration. Then the king ordered the commissioner to prorogue the parliament; and, by virtue of his own prerogative, established liberty of conscience through the whole kingdom. His power in Ireland was no less absolute. Tyrconnel had dismissed almost the whole number of protestants that were in the army; and encroached so much on the civil government, that Clarendon was left absolutely destitute of authority. At last this nobleman was recalled, and Tyrconnel appointed lord-lieutenant. This was a ferocious bigot, who exercised such acts of oppression, and encouraged the catholics to such a pitch of insolence and power, that the disarmed protestants expected another massacre. Many thousands relinquished their lands and effects, and came over to England, where they could be sheltered from the barbarity of such a tyrant; and the merchants of England who traded to that kingdom, withdrawing their effects, the country was reduced to unspeakable distress.

Tyrconnel
oppresses the
protestants
in Ireland

In England, the king prosecuted his design more gradually. He dismissed four judges, who refused to assert his dispensing power, and filled their places with such as promised to be more ductile. He resolved to put their obedience to immediate proof. The coachman of Sir Edward Hales, a new proselyte, was directed to inform against him as a popish recusant employed in quality of colonel in the service. He was prosecuted for the sum of five hundred pounds, and pleaded the king's dispensing power. The plea was argued with great learning and vivacity before the judges, who gave it as their opinion, that the dispensing power was a prerogative inseparable from the kings of England. Thus

The king
exercises a
dispensing
power.

A. C. 1686.

He favours
the catho-
lics.

all the fences to the constitution were at once thrown down. The king now admitted four popish lords into his council, namely, the lords Arundel of Wardour, Bellasis, Dover, and the earl of Tyrconnel. The catholic worship was publicly performed, and the jesuits erected colleges in different parts of the kingdom. Four catholic bishops, consecrated in the king's chapel, were sent through the kingdom, to exercise their episcopal functions, under the title of apostolic vicars. Their pastoral letters were printed by the king's printer, and distributed thro' all the different counties. The monks appeared at court in the habits of their orders; and a great number of priests and friars arrived in England. The whole administration was managed by catholics. The king sent a circular letter to the bishops, ordering them to prohibit their inferior clergy from preaching on points of controversy; a practice which served only to foment animosities. But this injunction was very little regarded by the protestant divines, who seeing their religion in such eminent danger, exposed the errors, absurdities, and cruelty of the catholic communion, with such learning, energy, and candour, as operated powerfully on the conviction of the public; and redounded to the immortal honour of those virtuous champions, the chief of whom were Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tenison, Patrick, and Sherlock.

Establishes
a new ec-
clesiastical
court.

The king and his council were so displeased with those endeavours, so expressly contrary to the royal mandate, that they were resolved to establish a new ecclesiastical commission-court that should enforce obedience. This was accordingly instituted, and composed of secular as well as ecclesiastical members, among whom were some catholics. The prelates were the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops of Durham and Rochester; but the metropolitan never took his place. Jeffries, now created

a peer and lord chancellor of England, was one of the lay members: such also were the earls of Rochester and Sunderland. They were impowred to exercise all sorts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; to correct abuses in the spiritual laws, inquire into all offences, punish delinquents by censure, excommunication, suspension, and deposition; to examine statutes, rules, and charters of colleges, and other ecclesiastical communities; and make such corrections and alterations as they should think proper. Doctor Sharp having preached at St. Anne's church upon a point of controversy, the king, in a letter to the bishop of London, desired he might be suspended. The prelate represented, that there was no law for suspending a clergyman without a legal trial. Sharp himself presented a submissive petition to the king, of which no notice was taken. The bishop of London had proposed in the house of lords to examine the king's last speech to his parliament; and was therefore extremely odious to the ministry. Being summoned before the new ecclesiastical court, he declined their jurisdiction, affirming, that as a bishop he was subject to the metropolitan alone. His plea was over-ruled; he was suspended from all episcopal functions, for having disobeyed the king's order; and the bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Peterborough, were vested with the administration of his diocese.

This decision excited loud clamours among the people, who were still more irritated, when they saw an army of fifteen thousand men encamped on Hounslow heath in time of profound peace. A minister, whose name was Johnson, published a paper, addressed to the officers and soldiers, representing the guilt, the baseness, and infamy, of serving as instruments to destroy the religion and constitution of their country. The author, being tried in the court of king's-bench, for having written

Endeavours
to make
profelytes.

A. C. 1686. a seditious libel, was convicted, fined in five hundred marks, set in the pillory, scourged from Newgate to Tyburn, and solemnly degraded: nevertheless, his performance produced a wonderful effect upon the soldiery. Miles Prance, the informer, was now tried and convicted of perjury: but his punishment was remitted, in consideration of his having voluntarily retracted his evidence, by which three innocent men had lost their lives: perhaps he would not have been so gently used, had not he professed the Roman catholic religion. The king became every day more and more ambitious of making converts. Sunderland sacrificed his religion to his interest, though he would not make a public abjuration. The earl of Rochester consented to a conference with some popish priests; but declared himself dissatisfied with their arguments, and refused to change. He lost his office of treasurer, which was put in commission; but he was gratified with a considerable pension. The king deprived his brother Clarendon of the privy-seal, which was given to lord Arundel. He condescended so far as to exhort Kirke to become a proselyte. That ruffian told him he was pre-engaged; for he had promised to the king of Morocco, that should he ever change his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

Sends an
ambassador
to Rome.

James, to crown all his endeavours in behalf of the catholic communion, sent the earl of Castlemain with a splendid embassy to the pope, to acknowledge the king's spiritual obedience to his holiness, and reconcile his kingdoms to the catholic religion. This nobleman was received at Rome with the most mortifying indifference. Innocent was at variance with the French king. He looked upon James as the partisan and pensioner of this monarch. He dreaded the effects of his frantic zeal,

zeal, and knew his connections with the jesuits, whom Innocent detested. Though he granted audiences to the ambassador, he always pretended to be seized with a fit of coughing, which interrupted the earl's speech, and obliged him to retire. At length he complained loudly of this contemptuous treatment, and threatened to return. The pope, in answer to this expostulation, advised him to travel in the cool of the morning, and repose himself during the heat of the day; otherwise the climate of Italy might prove dangerous to his health. All that he could obtain was a dispensation for father Peters, the king's confessor, permitting him to enjoy a bishopric, which, however, he did not obtain. The pope likewise sent over a nuncio to London; a compliment which he could not decently avoid.

A. C. 1686.

Burnet,
Rapin-
Ralph.

James, notwithstanding all discouragements, still persisted in his favourite design of converting the three kingdoms; and finding himself deserted by the church-party, he affected to care for the presbyterians. He sent a declaration to Scotland, granting full liberty of conscience to all his subjects of that kingdom, by virtue of his sovereign authority, his royal prerogative, and his absolute power, which all his people were bound to obey, without reserve or restriction. He, by the same power, annulled all laws enacted against Roman catholics; and abrogated all oaths by which non-conformists were rendered incapable of trust and office. The covenanters were not a little rejoiced, to find themselves delivered all at once from those restrictions in spirituals, of which they had so long complained; and the council thanked the king, in the name of the whole nation, for this mark of his princely clemency and indulgence. The success of this measure in Scotland, encouraged him to

A. C. 1687.

Publishes a
declaration
for liberty of
conscience.

A. C. 1687. practise the same expedient in England. Accordingly, on the fourth day of April, he published a declaration for liberty of conscience to the same effect, though he mentioned his absolute power in more moderate terms, and said he did not doubt of its meeting with the approbation of the parliament. It was so agreeable to all the nonconformists, that he received the warmest addresses of thanks from the anabaptists, quakers, independents, and presbyterians. In these they extolled the regal power, which they had so long endeavoured to abase. They triumphed over the churchmen, and published many virulent invectives against the established form of discipline. The king fomented this difference between two parties, to which he was equally averse. In private conversation, he talked of nothing but the injustice and oppression to which the nonconformists had been subjected by the church of England. He pursued this artifice so far as to give order for a revision of the suits which had been instituted in the ecclesiastical courts against the dissenters. But this animosity was of short duration; they soon perceived the king's drift, and all their mutual resentment subsided. Some of the English bishops were so abject, as to influence their inferior clergy to send flattering addresses upon the declaration. Crew of Durham, Barlow of Lincoln, Cartwright of Chester, Wood of Litchfield and Coventry, and Watson of St. David's, recommended themselves by such adulation. Parker of Oxford could prevail upon one minister only, to subscribe an address of this nature.

The king having hitherto succeeded even beyond his own expectation, resolved to open a way for the Roman catholics into the church and universities of England. He recommended father Francis, a bene-

benedictine monk, to the university of Cambridge, for the degree of master of arts. They perceived all the dangerous consequences of such an admission. They presented a petition, beseeching the king to revoke his mandate. They sent a deputation to London, with a remonstrance on the same subject. Their petition was disregarded; their deputies were denied a hearing. The vice-chancellor was summoned to appear before the ecclesiastical court. He was deprived of his office; yet the university still refused to admit Francis, and the king thought proper to desist from his purpose. His attempt upon Oxford he prosecuted with more perseverance. The place of president in Magdalen-college being vacant, he sent a mandate in favour of one Farmer, a new convert, whose character, in other respects, lay under imputation. They petitioned the king that they might be allowed to chuse their own president, according to the statutes of the college; or that his majesty would recommend a person properly qualified for such an important office. As no answer was made to this remonstrance, the fellows of the college elected Dr. Hough, a man of learning, integrity, and resolution. The king was incensed at their presumption. The vice-president and the fellows were cited before the ecclesiastical court, for having disobeyed the king's order. They represented, that they were restrained from chusing Farmer by their statutes, and the nature of the oath they had taken. They proved Farmer in every shape unqualified for such an office. Notwithstanding their defence, the court decreed that the new president should be deprived of his office; and that the vice-president and one of the fellows should be suspended. But the king being informed of what had appeared to the prejudice of Farmer's character, sent another mandate

in

Prosecutes
Magdalen-
college at
Oxford.

A. C. 1687. in favour of Parker bishop of Oxford, who was as profligate as the other. The fellows refused to comply with this injunction. The king repaired in person to Oxford, and the fellows were brought into his presence. He reproached them with their insolence and disobedience, in the most imperious terms; and commanded them to chuse the bishop of Oxford their president, without further delay. They presented a petition which he would not receive; and Parker was still rejected. He afterwards established an inferior commission to visit Magdalen-college. The chiefs of this delegation, were Cartwright bishop of Chester, and one of the judges. They endeavoured to intimidate the fellows into compliance by menaces: but, finding them resolute, they proposed an expedient for saving the king's honour by means of a declaration, which the members of the college were willing to subscribe. The king was not satisfied with this medium. He insisted upon their owning their contempt of his order, and promising they would comport themselves with more respect for the future. He demanded that they should acknowledge the justice and legality of the ecclesiastical court, implore his forgiveness upon their knees, and submit to the bishop of Oxford as their president. Those conditions being rejected by all the fellows, except Charnock, and one other; the recusants were, by the sentence of the commissioners, expelled from the college, and deprived of their fellowships. This judgment was affirmed by the ecclesiastical court, which moreover decreed, that the president and the fellows should be declared incapable of holding ecclesiastical benefices. Notwithstanding this sentence, the president refused to quit his house, until he was forcibly expelled. Then the college was filled with catholics, and Charnock appointed vice-president.

This

This flagrant invasion of the laws and religion of the kingdom proved one of the most unpopular acts of the king's whole reign: but, indeed, by this time he had made considerable progress towards absolute dominion, and had some reason to think the nation in general acquiesced in its slavery; for he was flattered even in his highest pretensions by the clergy, the laity, and all sorts of communities; among these the society of the Temple distinguished themselves by a fulsome address, in which they declared, that the prerogative being the gift of God, no earthly power could diminish it; and that it necessarily remained entire and inseparably attached to his royal person. Yet the tory parliament, submissive as they were in the beginning, and attached to the king by the ties of affection, could never be brought to a compliance with his ultimate designs upon the religion and constitution of their country. He had disposed of all the great employments to persons of his own communion. The justices of the peace were either catholics, or protestants devoted to his will; and they employed all their influence in establishing the king's dispensing power. James intended to call a new parliament, and began to take measures for the election of such members as would pay an implicit obedience to his commands. He closeted individuals, and endeavoured to convince them of the necessity for abolishing penal laws. He employed arguments, threats, and promises alternately. The same methods were practised by his ministers, deputy-lieutenants, judges, and justices, in different parts of the kingdom. Writs of Quo Warranto were issued against some refractory corporations, which were obliged to submit to his commands; and he himself made a progress through several counties, in order to intimidate and cajole the people. But all his endeavours proved unsuccessful: he met with nothing but

Endeavours
to influence
the election
of members
for a new
parliament.

A. C. 1687. but coldness, reluctance, and disaffection; so that he would not hazard the meeting of a new parliament.

The pope's nuncio makes his public entry into Windsor.

The pope had, in the preceding year, conferred the dignity of nuncio upon Ferdinand Dada, who had resided privately in England, and attended the king's person ever since his accession to the throne. Now James resolved to pull off the masque, and produce him in public to his people; though, by the laws of England, no person could assume the character of pope's nuncio, without incurring the penalty of high treason. On the third day of July, this priest made his public entry into Windsor, in his pontificals, preceded by the cross, and attended by a great number of monks, in the habits of their respective orders. The duke of Somerset being lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, refused to conduct the nuncio to an audience, alleging that he could not obey the king's order without transgressing the law. The duke of Grafton was not so scrupulous; and Somerset lost his office, together with a regiment of dragoons, which he had for some time commanded. All these unpopular measures of the king are said to have been suggested by the queen, and father Edward Peters his confessor, a shallow bigot, who was publicly admitted as a member to the council-board, contrary to the advice of all the leading men among the catholics *

Burnet.
Wellwood.
Knap.

A. C. 1688. James founds the prince of Orange with respect to the repeal of penal laws.

James knowing how popular the prince of Orange was among the dissenters in England; and that the nation in general revered the prince as presumptive heir of the crown, resolved to procure, if possible, his concurrence in repealing the penal laws, believing this would dispose the parliament

* In the course of this year, the friends, and despised by all the world, duke of Buckingham, deserted by his died in great want and obscurity.

to a compliance with his will, in confirming the declaration. In order to found the prince, he employed one Stuart, who was acquainted with Fagel the pensionary, to assure this counsellor, in a letter, that the interest of England, as well as of the prince, required the abolition of the test and penal laws. As Fagel made no reply to this address, Stuart renewed the attack in a second and third letter; till at length, tired by the pensionary's silence, he gave him to understand, that the king had employed him to write, and desired to know the sentiments of the prince on this subject. Then Fagel, by direction of the prince, wrote an answer, which was published. He said the prince and princess would willingly agree to indulge the catholics with liberty of conscience; and ardently wished that the protestant dissenters were allowed the free exercise of their religion: but they would never consent to the abolition of the test and penal laws, which were enacted to exclude the catholics from parliament, and public employments, that they might never be in a condition to overturn the protestant religion.

Their opinion was supported by very clear and convincing reasons, which, while they irritated the king against his son-in-law, served to confirm great part of the nation in the resolution which they had lately taken to oppose the arbitrary designs of the ministry. They began to perceive that the kingdom would infallibly be reduced to slavery, and the protestant religion extinguished, unless they should engage in some speedy and effectual measures for their own preservation. They turned their eyes upon the prince of Orange; and some were inclined to wait patiently, until the princess should succeed to the throne by the course of nature: but they banished those forbearing maxims, when a
pro-

A. C. 1688. proclamation was published, declaring the queen's pregnancy, and ordaining a day of thanksgiving for the occasion. These tidings filled the catholics with excessive joy, and the rest of the nation with the most dismal presages. The jesuits were bold enough to prophesy that the queen would bring forth a son. They pretended her conception was the miraculous effect of vows made by her and her mother to the blessed Virgin, and our lady of Loretto. Addresses of congratulation were immediately waisted to the king from all corners of the island, as if the whole nation had thought the birth of a prince would be a public blessing. But these addresses were procured by the emissaries of the ministry. All the protestants in the kingdom were alarmed, as at the eve of a terrible calamity. A great number fondly believed that the queen's pregnancy was counterfeit. She had been for some years in an ill state of health; and this circumstance, considered through the medium of passion, suggested the belief of an imposture. Before James ascended the throne, this lady had been pregnant, and at that time her enemies circulated a report of the same nature; but, as the infant proved a female, they took no step to confirm or extend the suspicion.

The king's disgust to the Dutch.

The king was so elevated with this prospect of male-issuë, that he seemed to set the prince of Orange at defiance. He disclaimed the correspondence between Stuart and Fagel: he countenanced the Algerines, who were at war with the Dutch: he recalled the six British regiments that were in the service of the States-general: he augmented his navy, and seemed to wait for nothing but a pretence to declare war against Holland. The States, in answer to his demand, represented, that, by treaties, they were not obliged to part with the regiments,
except

except when he should be at war with some foreign power, or in case of an actual rebellion in his dominions. He renewed his demand; they pleaded the letter of the treaty; at length he published a proclamation, recalling all his subjects that were in the service of the States-general. The prince of Orange offered passports to such English or Scottish officers as desired to quit the service; and, by this expedient, purged the troops of those individuals in whose attachment and fidelity he could not confide.

James, in order to demonstrate the constancy of his councils, and his contempt for the malcontents of the kingdom, published another declaration, granting liberty of conscience, and abolishing the penal laws. At the same time the bishops were enjoined, by an order of council, to cause this declaration to be read in all the churches of their different dioceses. This scheme was calculated to mortify the church of England, against which he was remarkably irritated, and to ensnare the bishops into the guilt of disobedience, unless they would become the instruments of his designs against the protestant religion. Loyd bishop of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol, being then in London, no sooner received these orders, than they hastened to Lambeth, to consult with Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury. There they deliberated upon the subject; and agreed in opinion, that they could not obey the king's command, without betraying their consciences, and their duty to God and their country. They therefore drew up and signed a petition to the king, representing their unwillingness to be concerned in publishing the declaration. They protested their reluctance did not proceed from any spirit of opposition

A. C. 1688.

Seven
bishops pre-
sent a peti-
tion to the
king.

A. C. 1688. sition to his majesty's will ; nor to a defect of tenderness for the nonconformists ; but solely from the nature of the declaration itself, founded on a dispensing power, which the parliament, on several occasions, had declared illegal. They said they could not be concerned in publishing it, with any regard to prudence, honour, and conscience ; and therefore they earnestly and respectfully besought his majesty to excuse them from obeying the order of council. On the eighteenth day of May, they went in a body to the palace, without having communicated their design to any person whatever, and presented this petition to the king, who received and read it with marks of surprise and displeasure. He said he did not look for such an address from the English church, particularly from some among them ; that they should hear from him, should he change his opinion ; if not, he expected they would obey his order. They answered, that they were resigned to the will of heaven ; and retired.

He resolved to prosecute those prelates in the most rigorous manner. The king's measures were now become so odious to the people, that although the bishops of Durham and Rochester, who were members of the ecclesiastical court, ordered the declaration to be read in the churches of their dioceses, the audience would not stay to hear them ; and one minister told his congregation, that though he had positive orders to read the declaration, they had none to hear it ; a hint in consequence of which they evacuated the church, and then he recited it in private. The petitioning bishops being brought before the council, were asked if they owned the petition ; and the archbishop acknowledged it was written by his own hand. Then the chancellor demanded if they would give bail to appear in the court of king's-bench, and answer the charge that should

J A M E S II.

should be brought against them, of endeavouring to diminish the king's authority, and interrupt the peace of the nation. They refused to appear in that court, alledging their privilege in quality of peers, which they were obliged to maintain, as well as the interest of the church, according to the oath they had taken to oppose all innovation in church and state. The chancellor threatened to commit them to the Tower, unless they would immediately retract their assertions and withdraw the petition. They said they were ready to go wheresoever the king should please to send them: they hoped the King of kings would be their protector and their judge: they were not afraid of man; and, as they had done nothing contrary to law, no menaces could shake their resolution. An order was immediately expedited for their commitment; and the attorney-general was commanded to prosecute them for having written and published a seditious libel against his majesty's government. The king resolved they should be conveyed to the Tower by water, as the whole city was in commotion. The people were no sooner informed of their destination, than they ran to the side of the river, which was lined with an incredible multitude. As the reverend prisoners passed, the populace fell upon their knees, and great numbers ran into the water, craving their blessing, calling upon heaven to protect them, and exhorting them to suffer nobly for their religion. The deportment of the bishops was modest, humble, and resigned. They conjured the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty. A vast crowd was assembled at the Tower, where they were received in the same manner. The very soldiers by whom they were guarded, affected by the spectacle, knelt before them, imploring their benediction and

A. C. 1688.

They are committed to the Tower.

A. C. 1588. forgiveness. The prelates went immediately to the Tower-chapel, to thank heaven for those afflictions, which, for the sake of religion, they were thought worthy to endure.

Birth of the
prince of
Wales.

On the tenth day of June, the queen was suddenly seized with labour-pains, and delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of James, and declared prince of Wales. All the catholics and friends of James were transported with the most extravagant joy at the birth of this child; while great part of the nation consoled themselves with the notion that it was altogether supposititious. They carefully collected a variety of circumstances, upon which this conjecture was founded; and, though they were inconsistent, contradictory, and inconclusive, the inference was so agreeable to the views and passions of the people, that it made an impression which, in all probability, will never be totally effaced*. Certain it is, the pride and haughty disposition of James and his queen, hindered them from taking such precautions as would have prevented, or effectually disproved this calumny. Great rejoicings were made through the whole kingdom, and another set of addresses presented, some of them replete with the most extravagant adulation.

The bishops
tried and
acquitted.

Mean while the seven bishops were admitted to bail, and the twenty-ninth day of June was fixed for their trial. They were attended to Westmin-

* Doctor Burnet, who seems to have been at uncommon pains to establish this belief, and to have consulted all the whig nurses in England upon the subject, first pretends to demonstrate that the queen was not with child; secondly, that she was with child, but miscarried; thirdly, that a child was brought into the queen's apartment in a warming-pen; fourthly, that there was no child at all in the room; fifthly, that the queen actually bore a child, but it died that same day; sixthly, that the supposititious child had not the fits; seventhly, that it had the fits, of which it died at Richmond: therefore the chevalier De St. George must be the fruit of four different impostures.

ster,

ster-hall by nine and twenty peers, a great number of gentlemen, and an immense croud of people. This cause was looked upon as a crisis that would produce either national slavery or freedom; and therefore it was heard with the most eager attention. The dispute was learnedly managed by the lawyers on both sides. Halloway and Powel, two of the judges, declared themselves in favour of the bishops. The jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the whole night; but next morning they returned to the court, and pronounced the bishops "not guilty." Westminster-hall instantly rung with loud acclamations, which were communicated through the whole extent of Westminster and London. They even reached the camp at Hounslow, while the king was at dinner in lord Feverham's tent. This nobleman went out to learn the noise of those shouts; and, when he returned, he told the king it was nothing but the joy expressed by the soldiers at the acquittal of the bishops. "Call you that nothing! (said the king) "but so much the worse for them." He forthwith returned to Whitehall, and published a proclamation, forbidding the populace to assemble in the streets: but, notwithstanding this prohibition, the whole city was lighted up by bonfires and illuminations. The same rejoicings were made in all the principal towns of England, to the unspeakable mortification of James, who threatened to deliver up the bishops to the ecclesiastical court; and, as a mark of his indignation, deprived Halloway and Powel of their offices.

This unhappy prince, perceiving the disposition of his people was very unfavourable to his designs, determined to force them into a compliance with his will, provided he could depend upon the attachment of the army. He thought if one regiment

The army and navy averse to the king's measures.

A. C. 1688. would promise implicit obedience, their example would be followed by the rest of the forces. In this hope, he ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence; and the major, by his command, desired all those that would not contribute to the repeal of the test and penal laws, to lay down their musquets. He was equally surpris'd and chagrined to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers, and a very few soldiers, who were Roman catholics. After some pause, he commanded them to take up their arms, telling them, that for the future he would not do them the honour to ask their advice. His next scheme was to dismiss the greater part of the protestant officers and soldiers, and fill their places with catholics. He began by new-modelling the regiment commanded by his own natural son the duke of Berwick. Five Irish soldiers were enlisted in every company. The national prejudice against the natives of that kingdom had been very keen since the massacre of the protestants; and now it was inflamed by the fears of popery, aggravated in ballads and pamphlets, which had a wonderful effect upon the common people. Beaumont the lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, and several captains, refused to admit Irish recruits. They were immediately tried for mutiny by a council of war, and dismissed from the service. The navy was not more complying than the army. Admiral Strickland having ordered mass to be celebrated on board of his ship, such a tumult ensued among the sailors, that he could hardly hinder them from throwing the priests into the sea.

The king's obstinacy and perseverance seemed to increase in proportion to the people's opposition. His queen and his priests continually stimulated him with intreaties and exhortations to proceed in the

the execution of his project; and he was encouraged by the servile submissions of some protestant divines. The bishops of Durham, Rochester, and Chester, still approved of all his measures. The clergy of Cheshire presented an abject address, condemning the conduct of the seven prelates who had scrupled to publish the declaration. The bishop of Durham suspended thirty ministers of his diocese who refused to read it; and the inhabitants of Carlisle declared they would concur with his majesty in repealing the test and penal laws. James, far from altering his conduct, issued orders for prosecuting all those clergymen who had forbore to read his declaration. He sent a mandate to his new fellows of Magdalen-college at Oxford, to elect for their president one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne, whom he likewise nominated to the see of Oxford, in the room of Parker, lately deceased. Sprat bishop of Rochester, and member of the ecclesiastical court, seeing the king proceeding with such a career in the road to ruin, resolved to consult his own safety in time, and withdrew himself from the commission, on pretence that his conscience would not permit him to prosecute those who had refused to read the declaration.

A. C. 1688.

Servile adulation of clergymen.

Every individual, whether whig or tory, who knew the value of liberty, and was attached to the established religion, now plainly saw, that without an immediate and vigorous opposition to the measures of the king, the nation would be reduced to the most abject state of spiritual and temporal subjection. The principal persons of both parties began to reflect with remorse upon the mutual animosity which had weakened the common interest: they perceived the necessity of having recourse to foreign aid: and they looked upon the prince of Orange as their natural ally and protector. As a

Views of the prince of Orange.

A. C. 1688.

previous step towards an application to this auxiliary, they saw it would be necessary to compromise all their domestic disputes. Some moderate men of each faction exerted their endeavours for this purpose. Their efforts were crowned with success. The whigs and tories, united by the common ties of religion and liberty, agreed in private to lay aside all contention, and join heartily in opposing the arbitrary designs of their misguided sovereign. The prince of Orange was no stranger to the murmurs of the English. He had sent over Dykvelt as an envoy, on pretence of remonstrating to James on his conduct. But he had given him secret instructions to treat with the chiefs of the malcontents. This agent executed his commission with equal secrecy and success. He assured the church-party of the prince's particular favour and regard. He exhorted the dissenters to beware of the king's caresses, which could not possibly be sincere; and hope for a toleration from a protestant parliament. They were satisfied by the solidity of his arguments, and professed the most perfect attachment to the stadtholder, in whom all their hopes were centered. The protestant princes of the empire had formed a separate league at Magdeburg, for the defence of their religion; and some towns in Holland, which had been influenced by French councils, being alarmed and incensed at the persecution of the huguenots in France, dropped all their connections with the court of Lewis, and reposed an intire confidence in the stadtholder. By this accession of influence, he was enabled to form a league at Augs-burg, in which all the princes of the empire united against the ambitious designs of the French monarch. Spain, Holland, and Savoy, acceded to this alliance,

While

While James sat upon the English throne, the prince saw no prospect of engaging this kingdom in the general association. The succession of the princess was defeated by the birth of the prince of Wales; and therefore he would not slight an invitation that so agreeably flattered his interest and ambition. Admiral Herbert, who was very popular among the seamen, resigned his commission in disgust, and retired to the Hague, where he assured the prince of a general disaffection in the navy. This assurance was confirmed by Admiral Russel, who, passing and repassing frequently between England and Holland, served as a canal of communication between the prince and the English protestants. Henry Sidney, brother to Algernoon, went over to the Hague, under the pretext of going to Spa for his health, and had frequent conferences with the stadtholder. Lord Dunblaine, son to the earl of Danby, made several voyages to Holland, in a frigate of his own, and conveyed not only assurances from a great number of noblemen and persons of distinction, but likewise considerable sums of money to the prince of Orange. Zuylerstein, whom the prince had sent over to England with compliments of congratulation on the birth of the prince of Wales, carried back a formal invitation from the English nobility. The bishop of London, the duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Halifax, the earls of Dorset, Devonshire, Nottingham, and Danby, the lords Lovelace, Delamere, Paulet, Eland; many gentlemen of interest, and a great number of substantial citizens, joined in the application to the prince, intreating him to assist them in the recovery of their liberties, and promising to support his endeavours with their lives and fortunes. The earl of Shrewsbury, a very popular nobleman, who had renounced the Romish

A. C. 1688.

His correspondence with the malcontents in England.

A. C. 1688, religion in which he was educated, and resigned his regiment, mortgaged his estate for forty thousand pounds, which he offered, together with his own personal service, to the prince of Orange. Lord Wharton, though overwhelmed with age and infirmities, visited the prince on the same errand. Lord Mordaunt resided at the Hague, and promoted the enterprize with all his power. Even Sunderland, the favourite minister of James, is said to have corresponded with the prince, and betrayed his infatuated master.

Preparations
for his ex-
pedition.

So many concurring motives could not fail to influence the conduct of the prince, who undertook the expedition, and began to make preparations for it with equal prudence and dispatch. The competition between prince Clement of Bavaria, and the cardinal of Furstenberg, for the archbishopric of Cologne, furnished the States-general with a pretence for assembling an army in the neighbourhood of Nimeguen. The prince managed his intrigues in such a manner, that three or four members devoted to his interest, were intrusted with the direction of the affairs then in agitation. Orders were given to prepare a formidable fleet, and augment the army, as a war with France seemed inevitable. The prince had an interview at Minden in Westphalia with the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, the princes of Lunenburg, and the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. To them he communicated his scheme, which was of such consequence to the general interest of religion and liberty; and they engaged to defend Holland from the attacks of France, during the prince's expedition to England. A fleet of fifty large ships of war was equipped, with as many vessels as would serve for the transportation of twelve thousand land-forces. These were freighted on different pre-
tences

tences by the merchants of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and other maritime places: they were distributed among different ports, where the troops were ordered to embark, and the rendezvous were fixed in the road of Gorée, where the navy waited for their junction. The prince's correspondents in England agreed to disperse themselves into different parts of the country, on the first news of his landing, in order to excite insurrections against the government, and raise troops for his service; and he never doubted of being immediately joined by such a number, as would enable him to make head against the king's army.

Notwithstanding all his secrecy and discretion, the French and English ministers at the Hague took the alarm at those preparations, and communicated their suspicions to James, who thought they had refined too much in their conjectures. He persuaded himself that the intelligence his envoy pretended to have received, was no other than a rumour spread by his enemies, to divert him from the prosecution of his designs. Nevertheless, he thought proper to flatter his people with the promise of a new parliament, and gave orders to the chancellor to issue writs for elections, on the fifth day of September: but, as these writs were not expedited, in all probability he had no other design but that of amusing his subjects. At this period, Bonrepos arrived as ambassador from France, with offers from Lewis, to assist the king with a fleet and army of thirty thousand men against all invaders: but this was declined by the advice of Sunderland. He represented to James, that by introducing French forces into the kingdom, on the eve of a new parliament, he would entirely lose the hearts of all his subjects; and run the risk of seeing his kingdom conquered by his auxiliaries. It was supposed,

James is alarmed.

He rejects the proffered assistance of the French king.

A. C. 1688. posed, however, that by means of this minister, a new alliance was concluded between the kings of France and England. Mean while, James ordered his ambassador in Holland to present a memorial to the States, desiring to know the destination of their extraordinary armament. He received an answer, importing, that they only imitated the example of the king of England, who had lately equipped a powerful fleet, and assembled a numerous army, without explaining his intentions; and they, in their turn, desired to know the nature of the alliance which he had concluded with the French monarch. This answer in some measure awaked the suspicion of James, who ordered the towns of Portsmouth and Hull, the two keys of England, to be put in a posture of defence, and bestowed the governments of those places upon two Roman catholics: but he took no further precautions against the impending danger, and could not believe the prince of Orange would hazard a descent.

The court of France, at the request of Skelton the English minister, who acted on this occasion without orders, sent directions to the count D'Avaux, their envoy at the Hague, to declare, in a memorial to the states, that the intimate friendship and alliance subsisting between the kings of France and England would oblige his master, not only to assist the English monarch, should he be attacked, but also to look upon the first act of hostility against England, as a manifest violation of the peace, and a formal design to break with France. The States returned an ambiguous answer, and demanded of the English ambassador an explanation of the last alliance between France and England. They made the same demand of the English ministry, by the mouth of Van Citters their
 envoy

envoy at London. James, with the concurrence of his council, disowned the memorial of D'Avauz; and Skelton being immediately recalled from France, was committed to the Tower for his presumption. Sunderland still argued, that the belief of such a connection with Lewis would ruin the king in the opinion of his subjects. This advice some writers impute to treachery. On the twenty-first day of September, the king issued a proclamation, declaring his design was to procure an entire liberty of conscience to all his subjects; to maintain the English church, by confirming the acts of uniformity, without any other alteration than that of repealing the penal laws enacted against those who were not promoted to ecclesiastical benefices. He likewise expressed his readiness to consent to a law that should exclude Roman catholics from seats in the house of commons. This proclamation, which was not only ambiguous, but also self-contradictory, made no favourable impression upon the people, who expected redress of their grievances from the prince of Orange alone. The king of France had by this time sent a numerous army into the empire, under the command of the dauphin; and Philipsburg was invested. Barillon, the French envoy at London, advised the king of England to desire his master to abandon the siege, and send his forces to the frontiers of Holland; a motion that in all likelihood would prevent the expedition against England; but this advice was not taken. Sunderland still objected the jealousy of the subjects, as the friends of the prince of Orange had circulated a report, that the Dutch armament was destined to prevent the French from landing in England.

James being now convinced of the prince's design, ordered the navy to be manned and prepared for

A. C. 1688. for sea; set on foot new levies, and sent for some regiments from Ireland; appointed the earl of Feverham general of his land-forces, and conferred the command of the navy upon the earl of Dartmouth. He directed the marquis of Alberville his minister at the Hague, to assure the States, that there was no private treaty subsisting between him and the French monarch; and to declare his readiness to concur with them in taking measures for maintaining the peace of Nimeguen. They paid no regard to this memorial. On the contrary, the pensionary frankly owned to the marquis, that the prince of Orange, in consequence of an invitation from the English nobility, was resolved to assist them in re-establishing the ancient constitution, which the king had entirely altered since his accession. When the minister communicated this information to the king, adding, that the Hague was filled with English subjects, waiting to embark in the prince's expedition, he and his whole council were overwhelmed with consternation: they no longer doubted that the invader would be supported by the majority of the kingdom; and being incapable of distinguishing between their friends and enemies, they knew not whom to trust. In this emergency, James assembled the bishops of Winchester, Chester, Rochester, Peterborough, Ely, Bath and Wells, and desired their advice and assistance. They obtained leave to go and consult with the archbishop of Canterbury, who was indisposed; and promised to deliver their sentiments in writing. Mean while the king published a proclamation, informing the subjects of a purposed invasion; exhorting them to lay aside their animosities, and join with him against the common enemy, whose intention was to enslave them; assuring them he would venture his life once more in their de-

He solicits
the advice
of the
bishops.

defence; and giving them to understand, that he A. C. 1688. could not conveniently assemble the new parliament, until this storm should be overblown. In order to conciliate the affection of his people, he ordered the bishop of London to be re-established in his episcopal functions: he appointed a new mayor for the city of London, because Eyles the anabaptist was not agreeable to the citizens who were members of the English church. He assured the magistrates that he would restore their ancient charter; and he published a general amnesty, with some exceptions.

On the third day of October, the archbishop of He takes some steps for the satisfaction of the people. Canterbury, accompanied by eight prelates whom James had consulted, was admitted to an audience at Whitehall, and presented the king with the result of their deliberation, in ten articles of advice. They counselled his majesty to put the government of the different counties into the hands of persons distinguished by their birth, and qualified by the laws of the land: To abolish the ecclesiastical court: To recal all the dispensations, by virtue of which disqualified persons had been admitted into civil and ecclesiastical employments: To revoke all the licences by which catholics were permitted to open public schools: To desist from all pretension to a dispensing power, or refer it entirely to the decision of parliament: To forbid the four apostolic vicars to continue invading the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, which belonged to the bishops of the English church: To fill up the vacant bishoprics and benefices with men of learning and piety: To restore the charters which had been taken from corporations: To assemble a free parliament; and allow the bishops to offer such reasons as might induce him to be reconciled to the English church, in which he had been born and educated. Though these

A. C. 1588. these advices must have been very unpalatable to the king, as containing severe reproaches upon his past government, he affected to take them in good part, and even complied with them in several articles. He suppressed the ecclesiastical court: restored the old charter to the city of London. The lieutenants of the counties were enjoined to correct all abuses which had injured the corporations. The bishop of Winchester, as visitor of Magdalen-college at Oxford, was authorized to re-establish it in possession of all its rights and privileges. All corporations were restored to the enjoyment of their antient immunities. Several governors were changed: catholic justices and magistrates were deprived of their offices, which the king now bestowed upon protestants; so that in a few days the great work, in which the king had laboured so assiduously, was entirely undone. These hasty steps towards a reformation, though supposed to be the effect of fear, began to make some impression upon the minds of the people, when he received intelligence that the Dutch fleet was dispersed and disabled by a tempest. He forthwith recalled the bishop of Winchester from Oxford, after that prelate had summoned the fellows of Magdalen-college; and seemed inclined to retract all the steps he had taken for the satisfaction of his subjects: yet, hearing the news he had received was false, he commanded the bishop to proceed, and the fellows of the college were re-established; but, by his conduct in this affair, he brought his sincerity into question.

Proves the
birth of his
son.

As he dreaded the violence of the populace, he ordered all the Romish chapels in London and Westminster to be shut up; and the priests of that communion, foreseeing the approaching storm, began to disappear. A body of troops from Ireland landed at Chester, and three thousand men from

Scotland.

Scotland arrived at Carlisle. Orders were issued to raise ten new regiments, and arm the militia; and a proclamation was published, commanding the subjects to remove their cattle to the distance of twenty miles from the place where the descent should be made. A writing being published in Holland, insinuating that the birth of the prince of Wales was an imposture, the king assembled a council extraordinary, to which he invited the queen dowager, with all the lords spiritual and temporal then in London, the lord mayor and aldermen, and the judges. He told them his enemies had pretended to doubt the birth of the prince of Wales; and therefore he had taken this opportunity to examine the affair in their presence, that he might clear himself from all suspicion of having practised such a vile imposture. Forty witnesses were produced; and, as far as the nature of the case would permit, ascertained the queen's delivery, to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced hearer: but great part of the nation were incapable of conviction; and this proof served only to rivit their suspicion, or confirm their notions of the imposture. The depositions were recorded in chancery, printed, published, and dispersed through the kingdom. Many people concluded that there must have been something very weak and defective in a cause that required such extraordinary support, not considering that their own prejudices had obliged the king to have recourse to such an extraordinary investigation. In October the earl of Sunderland was dismissed from his two employments of secretary of state and president of the council. He was disagreeable to the king's catholic counsellors; and suspected, nay even openly accused, of corresponding with the enemy: in the sequel he published an apology for his conduct.

During

A. C. 1688.

Manifesto
published
by the
prince of
Orange.

During these transactions, the prince of Orange was employed in drawing up a manifesto, explaining the motives by which he was actuated, and the purport of his expedition. He enumerated the grievances of the English nation: recapitulated the fruitless attempts which had been made for procuring redress in the usual way of petition and remonstrance: mentioned the circumstance of the supposed imposture in the birth of the prince of Wales: professed his own regard and that of the princess for the English nation, to the relief of which he had been invited by a great number of lords spiritual and temporal, gentlemen, and other persons of all conditions. He avowed his intention of visiting England with a body of forces sufficient to secure him from the attempts of those who might endeavour to thwart his measures. He declared his design was to convoke a free parliament, to which he would refer the settlement of the nation; and the same promise he made with respect to Scotland and Ireland. This declaration was already printed, in order to be distributed among the English people, when he received information that the king had redressed some of the grievances of which he complained, and taxed him with a design to conquer England. He therefore made an addition to his manifesto, importing, that the forces he intended to transport could not be supposed sufficient for the conquest of England; nor could the English noblemen and gentlemen engaged in his undertaking, be supposed capable of contributing to the subjection of their country: that the late redress of some grievances, though a plain acknowledgment of oppression, was but a temporary expedient to cajole the people, who could have no security for their rights and privileges, but in the acts of a free parliament, which he promised to assemble

semble in their behalf. The States-general, at the same time, published the reasons which had induced them to lend their ships and forces to the prince of Orange; namely, the invitation which the prince had received from the nobility and clergy of England, and the apprehension that king James, after he should have made himself absolute in his own kingdom, would join the French monarch in destroying the protestant religion, and exterminating the people of the United Provinces.

The prince of Orange, having taken leave of the States, embarked on the nineteenth day of October with the earls of Shrewsbury and Macclesfield, the lords Mordaunt, Wiltshire, Paulet, Elan, and Dunblaine; admiral Herbert, Mr. Sidney, Mr. Ruffel, Doctor Burnet, and many other English subjects. He was also attended by the count de Schomberg and his son, with about three hundred French officers of the reformed religion. His fleet consisted of fifty sail of the line, twenty frigates, as many fireships, and about four hundred transports, on board of which twelve or thirteen thousand soldiers were embarked. Admiral Herbert led the van; the rear was conducted by Evertzen; and the prince commanded in the centre, with a flag displaying his own arms, circumscribed, "The protestant religion, and the liberties of England." Underneath, "Je maintiendrai," the device that distinguished the house of Nassau. The fleet had sailed but a few leagues when the wind suddenly shifted to the west, and blew a violent storm, which lasted two whole days, and scattered the ships in such a manner, that a whole week elapsed before they could re-assemble at their rendezvous. They had sustained very little damage: the States, however, magnified their loss in the gazettes, and declared that the prince

The prince embarks, but is obliged to put back by stress of weather.

A. C. 1688. would be obliged to postpone his expedition to the spring.

James answers the prince's manifesto.

This artful insinuation had the desired effect: James believed their fleet was actually disabled; and, on that supposition, recalled some of the concessions he had made for the satisfaction of his people. When he understood that the prince, in his manifesto, declared, he was invited by a great number of lords (spiritual and temporal, he summoned the archbishop of Canterbury and three or four other prelates into his presence, and insisted upon their signing a declaration to disprove the prince's assertion. They assured him of their fidelity in general terms, but desired to be excused from answering a writing which did not concern them in particular. The king was incensed at their refusal, and dismissed them with marks of the most violent indignation. Then he published an answer to the prince's manifesto, in which he endeavoured to justify his own conduct, and blacken the character of the stadtholder. At this period two printed letters were distributed through England; one addressed to the English army by the prince of Orange, and the other directed by admiral Herbert to the sailors, by whom he was greatly beloved. These papers contained reasons and exhortations, dissuading them from acting as the instruments of tyranny against the religion and liberties of their country; and they produced a surprising effect.

The prince lands in England.

The damage sustained by the Dutch fleet, being in a few days repaired, the prince re-embarked on the first day of November, and steered to the northward, intending to land in the mouth of the Humber; but the easterly wind blew so strong in the night, that he changed his resolution, and stood to the westward. He sailed down the channel without seeing the king's fleet, which lay at the

Gunfle

Gunfleet to the number of sixty ships, commanded by the earl of Dartmouth. The prince now determined to land at Torbay; but in the night of the fourth, the pilot overshot the Start-point, and the gale was so fresh that it was found impracticable to beat up to windward. This accident would have obliged the prince to bear away for Falmouth, at the extremity of the island, had not the wind unexpectedly shifted to the West, and conducted them into Torbay; while at the same time it effectually hindered the English fleet to come down the channel. On the fifth day of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder-plot, the prince disembarked his troops at the village of Broxholme in Torbay. The baggage and artillery were sent to Topsham, the seaport of Exeter, and next day the prince began his march for that city, where however he remained ten days, without being joined by any person of consideration. The king no sooner received intelligence of his landing, than he ordered his troops to assemble on Salisbury Plain. In order to vilify the prince's power, he distributed lists of all the regiments that composed his little army. Hearing the city of London, with the counties of Kent and York, intended to present addresses, beseeching him to effect an accommodation with the prince of Orange, he publicly declared, that he would consider as enemies all those who should propose such an accommodation. At the same time he published a declaration, charging the prince of Orange with a design to usurp the crown of England. Mean time the stadtholder passed his time very disagreeably at Exeter: the bishop had quitted the place at his landing, and repaired to London, where the king created him archbishop of York. When doctor Burnet mounted the pulpit at Exeter, on the Sunday after the

A. C. 1688. prince's arrival, in order to read the manifesto, all the canons and great part of the congregation left the church. Very few Englishmen offered their services to the stadtholder; and he met with very little success in raising three new regiments of infantry. Though the people were generally well affected to his design, the recent remembrance of the cruelties exercised upon the partisans of Monmouth, in that country, deterred them from engaging in any other enterprize against the government.

Is joined by
many per-
sons of dis-
tinction.

On the tenth day after the prince's landing, when he began to deliberate about reimbarking, he was joined by some persons of consequence; among these was Edward Seymour, who proposed an association for the defence of the laws and liberties of the kingdom, binding the subscribers to stand by the prince of Orange, and by one another, until, by means of a free parliament, their religion and privileges should be secured in such a manner, as to screen them from any future danger of popery and slavery. This association was subscribed by all present; and from this day the prince's affairs assumed a more promising aspect. He began his march for Salisbury, and the number of his followers daily increased. Lord Colchester, son to the earl of Rivers, Mr. Wharton, colonel Godfrey, and Mr. How, joined him with about sixty horsemen well mounted; these were followed by the earl of Abington, captain Clarges, and some others. Lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon, colonel of a regiment of dragoons, revolted to the prince with a good part of four regiments. Lord Delamere assembled his vassals in Cheshire, and openly declared for the stadtholder. Lord Lovelace began his march for Exeter, at the head of fourscore horse; but he was encountered by the militia

militia at Cirencester, defeated, and taken prisoner. The two archbishops, five other prelates, the dukes of Grafton and Ormond, the earls of Dorset, Clare, Clarendon, Burlington, Anglesey, and Rochester; the lords Newport, Paget, Chandos, and Offulston, meeting in London, drew up and presented a petition to the king, beseeching him to convoke a free parliament, and take measures for satisfying the prince of Orange. James declared, that he passionately desired to assemble a free parliament: and promised, upon his royal word, that it should meet immediately after the prince's departure from the kingdom: but he said, this step could not be taken while the enemy was in the country, and had it in his power to influence the elections.

This unhappy monarch was now involved in a labyrinth of fears and perplexity. The defection of his subjects made a deep impression upon his mind. He had reason to believe the army was infected with the same spirit: and he began to distrust the fidelity of those who necessarily enjoyed a great share of his confidence. Resolving to head his army in person, he recommended the city of London to the care of the lord mayor. He made a speech to his principal officers, in which he solemnly renewed the promise of assembling a free parliament. He told them, if they desired any thing more, he was ready to gratify their wishes: he declared, that if any of them were still dissatisfied with his conduct, and inclined to join the prince of Orange, he would supply them with passports, in order to spare them the shame of deserting their lawful sovereign. He left a council at London, composed of the chancellor Jeffries, the lords Godolphin, Powis, Bellasis, and Preston; and set out for Salisbury, where he arrived on the nineteenth day

A. D. 1688.

day of November. There he was complimented by the officers, who expressed their attachment to him in the warmest terms, and their indignation at the desertion of lord Cornbury. Notwithstanding their assurances, he was exposed to the most uneasy reflections. He saw all his schemes blasted, his people melting from him, his friends falling off, and his family in danger of immediate ruin. His internal disturbance had such an effect upon his constitution, that the blood gushed from his nostrils; and next day the same symptom recurred.

Returns to
London.

The officers forgetting their late professions, now desired the earl of Feversham to tell the king, that they could not in conscience serve against the prince of Orange, who aimed at nothing but the security of the protestant religion, and the liberties of the people. This was a mortifying declaration to the king, who thus found himself deprived in a manner of all resource. Feversham advised him to secure lord Churchill, whose fidelity was questioned. James had heaped such favours upon this nobleman, whom he had raised from obscurity, enobled, and promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, that he could not doubt his attachment. Next day, however, Churchill went over to the prince, accompanied by the duke of Grafton, colonel Berkeley, and several other officers. He sent a letter to the king, pleading conscience for his desertion; but James imputed it to the fear of his falling fortune operating upon a mind that felt no ties of gratitude. He was now wholly abandoned by his fortune, and returned to London in a state of dejection, after having published a proclamation, promising a free pardon to all deserters who in four and twenty hours should return to their duty. This produced no effect; but he had the additional
mor-

mortification to see himself forsaken by his son-in-law prince George of Denmark, who left him at Andover. A. C. 1688.

The prince of Orange, who had advanced to Sherburne, receiving advice that the king had returned to London, and his army retired to Reading, marched towards Salisbury, which he entered amidst the acclamations of the people. In his route to this place, a skirmish happened between two parties of the opposite armies, in which the English gained some advantage. The earl of Bath governor of Plymouth, admitted the Dutch fleet into that harbour. The earl of Shrewsbury and Sir John Guise expelled the duke of Beaufort from Bristol, by the assistance of the inhabitants, who declared for the prince of Orange. The earl of Devonshire having assembled a great number of gentlemen in Derbyshire, openly espoused the same cause. The earl of Danby secured the city and county of York in the same interest. Their example was followed by Nottinghamshire and the town of Berwick. Hull was delivered into the hands of colonel Copley by the garrison, after they had arrested the lord Langdale their catholic governor. The prince received tenders of service from the duke of Somerset and the earl of Oxford. The duke of Ormond entered the city of Oxford, and ordered the manifesto to be read in public. Finally, the king was abandoned by his own daughter Anne princess of Denmark, who escaped privately from Whitehall, and was accompanied by the bishop of London to Nottingham; from whence she repaired to Oxford, where she was joined by her husband. She sent a letter to the queen, containing an apology for her retreat, and the warmest expressions of duty to her father. When James was made acquainted with the flight of his favour-

Is abandoned by his own daughter.

A. C. 1688. rite daughter, he could not help bursting into tears, and exclaimed, in an agony of grief, "God help me! my own children have forsaken me!" He now tottered on the brink of destruction. The queen was overwhelmed with consternation. Peters his confessor had retired to France, in the retinue of the earl of Waldegrave, who succeeded Skelton as ambassador at Paris; Jeffries was dismayed; and Barillon, the French envoy, reproached the king with his having rejected the assistance of Lewis.

He sends deputies to the prince of Orange.

Finding himself in this desolate condition, he assembled the few protestant lords spiritual and temporal who happened to be at London, and implored their advice. They were unanimously of opinion that he should immediately call a free parliament; grant an absolute pardon to all those who had joined the prince of Orange; send deputies to treat with him of an accommodation; and instantly deprive all catholics of the employments they possessed. He forthwith ordered the chancellor to prepare writs for the elections. He published a proclamation, declaring, That all peers and commons should be at liberty to vote or be elected without distinction, whether they had or had not joined the prince of Orange. Hales, a catholic, was dispossessed of the lieutenancy of the Tower, and that command conferred on colonel Skelton. The marquis of Hallifax, the earl of Nottingham, and lord Godolphin, were nominated as deputies to treat with the prince of Orange, who furnished them with a safe conduct; and they set out on this embassy in the beginning of December. About this time, a paper was circulated through all England, entitled, "The third declaration of the prince of Orange." He disowned the paper, though it was published in his name. The author declared

his highness did not intend to molest the papists, if A. C. 1688. they would be quiet; but that all of that communion found in arms, or in the exercise of public employments, with their abettors, should be treated as enemies and perturbators of the public peace. All magistrates and officers, civil as well as military, were required to seize, disarm, and secure such disturbers, on pain of being deemed traitors to the religion, laws, and liberties of their country. This declaration, which was published by almost all the justices of the peace in the kingdom; completed the despair of the catholics; so that they durst not shew their faces in public. The hue and cry was raised against father Peters; and the earl of Salisbury was presented as a popish recusant by the grand jury of Middlesex.

The king's deputies had an audience of the prince at Hungerford; and at his desire delivered their master's proposals in writing. James desired, that their difference might be left to the decision of a free parliament which he had convoked; and that the two armies should remain at an equal distance from London. The prince on the other hand proposed, That all papists should be disarmed and dispossessed of the employments they enjoyed: That all proclamations against himself should be recalled: That the command of the Tower should be put into the hands of the lord mayor: That if the king should think proper to reside in London during the session of parliament, the prince should likewise remain in the same place, with an equal number of guards: or, That the king and he should reside at an equal distance from London: That the two armies should be removed thirty miles from the city; and, That no new forces should be brought into the kingdom: That Tilbury-fort should be put into the hands of the city-magistrates: That,

Conditions
imposed by
the prince.

A. C. 1633. That, until the parliament should meet, part of the revenue should be assigned for the maintenance of the prince's army : and, That in order to prevent an invasion from abroad, the fortress of Portsmouth should be committed to the charge of some person equally agreeable to the king and the prince. When James perused those proposals, he said, they were more moderate than he expected. He assembled the noblemen who were in London, to deliberate upon the present conjuncture of affairs. Addressing himself to the earl of Bedford, " My lord, (said he,) you are an honest man ; have great credit ; and can do me signal service." " Sir, (replied the earl,) I am a feeble, old man, very unable to do you any considerable service ; but I had a son (he added with a sigh) who, if now alive, could serve your majesty in a more effectual manner." He alluded to lord Ruffel, who had suffered death in the last reign. James was so struck with this reflection, that he could not answer one word.

The queen
retires to
France.

Every thing now tended to an accommodation ; and the nobility were ordered to reassemble next day, to agree upon measures for re-establishing the peace of the kingdom. But the king altered his resolution before morning. His private counsellors advised him to retire into France, where he would be protected by a powerful and generous monarch, who would enable him to resume the reins of government upon his own terms. Whereas, by remaining in England, he would be reduced to the shadow of royalty, and see himself compelled to retract all his concessions in favour of the catholic religion. They infused terrors into the queen, by representing, that the parliament would declare her delivery an imposture, the prince of Wales illegitimate ; and perhaps accuse her of treason for
having

having favoured catholics, contrary to the laws of A. C. 1688. the realm. Thus alarmed, she resolved to retire immediately into France with the prince of Wales; and extorted a positive promise from the king, that he would follow her without delay. On the tenth of December at night, she crossed the river with her infant in an open boat, exposed to the wind and rain; and waited in the fields at Lambeth, until Lazun provided a coach for her accommodation. In this she travelled to Gravesend, where she embarked on board of a small vessel that conveyed her and the prince of Wales in safety to Calais. From thence she hastened to Versailles, where Lewis received her with the most cordial hospitality.

The king having sent an order to the earl of Feverham to disband the army, and caused the writs for the election of a new parliament to be burned, disguised himself in plain apparel, and about four o'clock in the morning, embarked in a boat at Whitehall, accompanied by Sir Edward Hales, Mr. Sheldon, and Abbadie his valet de chambre. He threw the great seal into the Thames, that it might not fall into the hands of his enemies, and proceeded towards the mouth of the river, where a ship waited for his reception. He hoped his absence would produce a perplexity in the nation, which might be favourable to his cause: but the prince of Orange foresaw, that nothing would sooner promote the accomplishment of his own design. The king disappears. The king's disappearance was actually productive of consternation and confusion, as all government seemed to be suspended. The lords and bishops who were in London, together with some persons of distinction, held a consultation in Guildhall with the lord mayor and aldermen. They resolved to adhere to the prince of Orange; and sent deputies to him with this resolution, subscribed

A. C. 1688. ed by all the members of that assembly. They appointed lord Lucas lieutenant of the Tower, until the prince's pleasure should be known. The common-council of London sent a deputation to the prince with an address, craving his protection, and intreating him to honour the city with his presence. The populace plundered, burned, and demolished all the Romish chapels. Jeffries the chancellor being detected in the dress of a sailor, was maltreated by the multitude, and conveyed to the Tower, where death soon delivered him from the terrors of exemplary punishment.

A panic in London.

When Feverham disbanded the king's army, some Irish soldiers finding themselves destitute of subsistence, were impelled by hunger to rifle a house in Uxbridge. This incident was swelled up into a report, that an Irish army had landed in England, and was in full march to the capital, burning, plundering, and massacring, without mercy or distinction. The rumour was in the circulation improved into a detail of the most dreadful circumstances. The city of London was alarmed with the account of their having reached Uxbridge. Some endeavoured to save themselves by flight; others ran to arms; all the windows were illuminated, that the enemy might not take advantage of the darkness; universal tumult and trepidation ensued. The panic extended itself to all parts of England with amazing rapidity; and the more remote counties had resolved to put all the Roman catholics to the sword, when they were happily undeceived by learning the true cause of this commotion. The prince of Orange was no sooner informed of the army's being disbanded, than he published a proclamation, requiring the officers to reassemble their men, and wait in quarters for further orders; and another proclamation,

to

to the same purpose, was issued by the noblemen A. C. 1688. assembled at London.

In the mean time, the small vessel in which the king had embarked, was detained at Feversham by the common people, who discovered Sir Edward Hales on board, and mistook the king for his priest or chaplain. In this opinion they arrested, insulted, and robbed their unfortunate sovereign of some valuable jewels, and about five hundred guineas. At length, he was known by a constable, who fell at his feet, begging pardon for the insolence of the people; and they now, with marks of contrition, offered to restore the plunder. He received the jewels, but desired them to keep the money. Then he sent for the earl of Winchelsea, who happened to be in the neighbourhood; and that nobleman persuaded him to return to London. The news of his being discovered in such a manner, had very different effects upon different persons. The nobility and magistrates of the city began to fear they had been too officious; for they perceived the hearts of the people relenting at the distress of their sovereign. Having consulted together, they deputed four of their number to wait upon his majesty, and intreat him to return to Whitehall, where he should be received, with the most dutiful respect. His coaches were immediately dispatched to Feversham. Then they sent an express, to inform the prince of Orange that his majesty was still in the kingdom. The prince had now advanced to Windsor, where he received this intelligence with equal concern and surprize. He forthwith dismissed Zuytlestein with a message to the king, desiring he would retire to Rochester, until measures could be taken with regard to his affairs. But before this message could be delivered, the king arrived in London, where he was received

The king
returns to
Whitehall.

A. C. 1688. ceived amidst the acclamations of the people, who rejoiced at his return, as if he had come from immediate conquest, and triumphed over the enemies of the nation. He took possession of Whitehall, and his domestics flocked around him; but this gleam of good fortune was of a very short duration.

He retires
to Rochester
by permis-
sion of the
prince.

He had sent the earl of Feversham with a letter to the prince of Orange, inviting him to St. James's with such a number of guards as he should think necessary, that they might confer together upon means for appeasing the troubles of the nation. The prince would not deign to answer this letter, but ordered the earl to be disarmed and arrested. He signed a written order to the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Shrewsbury, and lord Delamere, to go and give the king notice that it would be proper for him to retire to Ham-house near Richmond; and that he might retain his own guards for the safety of his person. Then he ordered his regiment of guards to take possession either by fair means or force, of the two palaces of Whitehall and St. James's. The king desired the count De Solms colonel of the Dutch guards, to leave him for that night under the care of his own people. The count replied, that his orders must be immediately obeyed. One of his battalions marched at ten in the night through the Park to Whitehall; and were drawn up in order of battle, opposite to the king's guards, with their matches lighted, ready to engage. The captain of the English guard refused to quit his post until the king ordered him to march off the parade. Then the Dutch troops took possession of the palace, and placed double sentries on the king's person. About midnight the three noblemen deputed by the prince arrived at Whitehall; and insisted upon the king's being

being awakened to give them audience. They recited the order in his hearing, and he acquiesced in the prince's command; but expressed a desire of retiring to Rochester rather than to Richmond. The prince perceived his intention was to leave the kingdom; and in this hope readily complied with his request. Next day the king set out for that place, accompanied by the earls of Aylesbury, Litchfield, Arran, and Dumbarton; and attended by a detachment of the Dutch guards.

The prince of Orange that same day fixed his residence at St. James's, where he received the compliments of the nobility and the lord mayor of London; and his arrival was celebrated by the populace with public rejoicings. After having reposed himself a few days, he assembled all the nobility, to the number of three-score. He desired they would concert proper measures for convoking a free parliament for the preservation of the protestant religion, and the security of the rights and liberties of the kingdom. Then he left them to their own deliberations. They voted an address of thanks to his highness; and resolved to meet every day in the house of peers, that they might deliberate upon what he had recommended to their attention. The king finding himself stripped of his authority, and reduced from the pinnacle of regal power to the lowest degree of dependence, resolved to withdraw himself out of the reach of a people who had renounced his government, and a rival, from whose ambition he did not think his life altogether secure. On the twenty-third day of December, he privately retired from Rochester, attended by his natural son the duke of Berwick, and two domestics, to the sea-side, where a vessel was prepared. There embarking he set sail for France, and arrived at the port of Ambleuse:

from

A. C. 1688.

He with-
draws into
France.

A. C. 1688. from whence he repaired to St. Germain, where he found his consort and the prince of Wales. He left a paper on his table at Rochester, written with his own hand. In this he complained of the disrespect with which he had been treated by the prince of Orange, who had rejected his proposals by the earl of Feverham; arrested that nobleman, contrary to the law of nations; ordered his guards to take possession of the palace by night; sent an order to himself at midnight, commanding him to quit his own house; invaded his dominions, and countenanced a malicious report, on purpose to deprive his infant son of the succession. He said he was born free, and desired to preserve his liberty: that he had often exposed his life for the honour of his country; and hoped to venture it once more to redeem it from subjection: that he would not run the risque of being rendered incapable to serve his people, and therefore he had retired from confinement; but he should be always ready to fly to the assistance of the nation, whenever their eyes should be opened, so as to see how much they had been abused by the pretext of religion and liberty. He hoped God would touch the hearts of his subjects, and inspire them with sentiments of moderation, that a free parliament might indulge all nonconformists with liberty of conscience, than which nothing would more contribute to the advantage and happiness of the nation. Thus ended the reign of James II. a prince in whom some good qualities were rendered ineffectual by mistaken notions of the prerogative, excessive bigotry to the religion of Rome, and an inflexible severity of temper. He was brave, steady, resolute, diligent, upright, and sincere, except when warped by religious considerations; yet, even where religion was not concerned, he appears to have been proud, haughty, vindictive,

dictive, cruel, and unrelenting; and though he approved himself an obedient and dutiful subject, he certainly became one of the most intolerable sovereigns that ever reigned over a free people *.

As the prince of Orange had been embarrassed by his presence, so now he was overjoyed at his retreat. James probably imagined that upon his retiring from the kingdom, a total cessation of government would ensue, and be attended with such anarchy, as would oblige the subjects, for their own sakes, to recal him to the throne: he deceived himself by this expectation. His departure was no sooner known than the peers, as possessed of hereditary jurisdiction, resolved to act as the guardians of the public. They presented an address to the prince, desiring he would take into his hands the administration of the government, civil and military, the management of the public revenue, and the regulation of the affairs of Ireland, until a convention of the estates should be assembled. In another address, they intreated him to send orders to all the places that were vested with the right of electing members, that they should in ten days chuse representatives to compose a convention, which might act as a parliament in settling the nation. Before the prince would take this step, he was resolved to be authorised by the commons as well as by the peers. He published an order, requiring all those who had served as members of parliament in the reign of Charles II. together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and fifty common-council-men of London, to meet at St. James's, on the twenty-sixth day of December, that he might con-

The prince of Orange assumes the reins of government.

* In this reign the settlement of Carolina and Pennsylvania was completed. This last colony was peopled with quakers, under the auspices of Penn the proprietor, who was himself one of those sectaries.

A. C. 1688. sult them on the present posture of affairs. They accordingly assembled at the appointed time, and adjourned to the house of commons: there, after some debates upon the authority by which they had been convened, they drew up and presented an address to the prince, desiring he would take upon himself the charge of the administration till the meeting of the convention, which they begged he would convoke for the twenty-second day of January. The prince assured them he would comply with their advice, and concur with them in every measure that should be judged necessary for the good of the kingdom. Being thus invested with the supreme authority, he ordered Barillon the French ambassador to quit the kingdom immediately. Next day he received the communion in the manner practised in the church of England. He published a proclamation, authorising all protestants who had public employments, to continue in the exercise of them till the meeting of the convention: he dismissed all the catholic officers from the army; and at the same time he released the earl of Feverham, at the desire of the queen dowager.

Burnet.
Echard.
D'Avaux.
Rapin.

A. C. 1688. The Scottish bishops had sent an address to the king, declaring their abhorrence of the invasion threatened by the prince of Orange: but his design was extremely agreeable to the generality of people in that kingdom, who professed the presbyterian religion. The retreat of James was no sooner known at Edinburgh, than the chancellor of the kingdom resigned the great seal, and retired from that capital: then the populace assembling, insulted not only the catholics, but likewise the favourers of episcopacy. They demolished chapels and plundered houses; so that the bishops were obliged to fly with the utmost precipitation, while many noble-
men

He is invited
to take up-
on him
self the ad-
ministra-
tion of
affairs in
Scotland.

men and others of that country repaired to London, to observe the progress of the prince, and conform themselves to the conduct of the English nation. Those the prince assembled at St. James's, to the number of thirty lords and fourscore gentlemen, whose advice he demanded with regard to the affairs of Scotland. From thence they repaired to Whitehall, and having chosen the duke of Hamilton their president, deliberated upon the answer they should make to the prince of Orange. The earl of Arran proposed an address to the king, desiring he would return to Scotland and convoke a parliament: but this proposal was unanimously rejected. They besought the prince to assume the reins of government in Scotland, and convoke the states of that kingdom for the fourteenth day of March; and they received nearly the same answer which he had made to the English.

The settlement of Ireland was a task of much greater difficulty. Tyrconnel commanded an army composed of papists, and it could not be imagined that he would voluntarily submit to the prince's orders: yet as the lords and commons of England had intreated the prince to regulate the affairs of that kingdom, and he had received an address from the protestant inhabitants, he could not help taking some notice of their interest. He wrote a letter to Tyrconnel, requiring him to submit to the regulations that should be made in England. Colonel Hamilton undertook to deliver this letter, and enforce it in such a manner that the earl would submit; but, far from performing his promise, he encouraged him to set the prince at defiance. It was at this juncture, that the archbishop of Canterbury, who had hitherto stood neuter, went, accompanied with eight other prelates, to make a tender of their services to the prince, and sub-

Writes to
Tyrconnel
in Ireland.

A. C. 1689. scribed the association: at the same time he was complimented by ninety presbyterian ministers, who went in a body to pay their respects, and were civilly received. While the nation was employed in chusing representatives, William sent for the princess; but she was for some time detained by a hard frost, which had locked up the harbours in Holland.

Meeting of
the conven-
tion.

The convention meeting on the twenty-second day of January, each house chose a speaker; and then the prince's letter to both was read to this effect: That he had complied with their desires in re-establishing the peace and public safety of the kingdom, and now it was their business to secure their religion, laws, and liberties upon a certain foundation. He observed, that the dangerous situation of the protestants in Ireland required immediate relief; and that, except a disunion among themselves, nothing could be more fatal to foreign connections than a delay in their deliberations; the States-general would have immediate occasion for the troops they had furnished, as well as for the speedy assistance of the English, against a powerful enemy with whom they were at war: he persuaded himself, that besides the obligation of treaties, they would be ready to assist the Dutch as protestants and friends, who had expressed such ardour for the preservation of the English constitution. The two houses immediately presented an address to the prince, in which they acknowledged, that, under God, the nation was indebted to him for its deliverance. They approved of his administration; and begged he would continue to manage the affairs of government, until they should have occasion to present another address; and they promised to pay the utmost deference to all the contents of his letter. They ordained a day of thanksgiving

giving for the happy deliverance of the nation; and the bishops, by command of the upper-house, inserted in the service of the day, a particular prayer for the prince of Orange. The king had written a letter to his privy-counsellors, nearly in the terms of the paper he had left at Rochester, and desiring their advice in the present conjuncture. It was printed and published by his direction; but as he received no answer from those to whom it was addressed, he sent a letter to each house of the convention; in which he promised, on the word of a king, to grant a general indemnity, even to those who had betrayed him, excepting a very few whom he could not with safety forgive: but the two houses refused to examine the contents.

On the twenty-eighth day of January, Mr. Dolben, in the lower house, undertook to prove that the throne was vacated by the king's desertion. After a debate that lasted several hours, they voted, by a great majority, that king James II. having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original contract betwixt king and people; and having, by the advice of jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government; and that the throne was thereby vacant: and that experience had shewn, a protestant kingdom could not subsist under the government of a popish sovereign. As the elections had run in the old channel, without being exposed to any undue influence, almost all the representatives of the boroughs were presbyterians, who had now resumed their former principles of rejecting the right of hereditary succession. But in the house of peers the interest of the tories was considerable.

The commons vote that king James had abdicated the throne.

A. C. 1689. They now resumed those maxims of government, which they had deposited when they found themselves threatened with immediate slavery. Both parties had by this time forgot the coalition, and their former animosity revived.

Disputes in
the upper
house.

The lords, without acquiescing in the vote of the commons, began to consider in what manner the government should be settled, supposing the throne was actually vacant. The earls of Rochester and Nottingham, leaders of the tory party, proposed that the line of succession should be preserved, and a regent appointed during the king's life, as if James was actually in a state of lunacy. They produced a recent instance of this expedient in Portugal, where, after the deposition of Adolpho VI. his brother Don Pedro had been appointed regent of the kingdom. The marquis of Halifax speaker of the house, and the earl of Danby, who headed the opposite party, expatiated upon the difficulties, the confusion, and civil disorders, that would probably attend a regency, opposed by that very prince in whose name it must operate. The tories urged, that the election of one king would form a precedent which would produce successive contests for the throne; so that the peace of the nation would be continually interrupted, and the monarchy degenerate into a turbulent republic: besides, it would be exposed to incessant danger, from the pretensions of him who would claim the crown by the right of succession; whereas should this be preserved intire, the administration would one day fall into the hands of the true heir; and then all disputes and disorders would naturally cease. The whigs insisted upon the original contract, by which the people were intitled to take arms against oppression, and expel a tyrant from the throne. They explained the
absurdity

absurdity of resisting or punishing the partisans of a man, whom they acknowledged to be their lawful sovereign, in case he should attempt to disturb the peace of the kingdom, and grant commissions to his adherents. They enumerated other inconveniences that would arise from a regency. They observed, that unless they elected a new sovereign, they must acknowledge the succession of a child of a doubtful birth, who would be educated in principles destructive of the religion and liberty of the kingdom, and perpetuate those maxims in his family and descendants.

After a long debate, a new sovereign was preferred to a regent, by a majority of two voices. Of all the prelates, the bishops of London and Bristol only espoused this side of the question. The archbishop of Canterbury, who was a timorous man, absented himself from the house, that he might not be obliged to give his opinion on the subject. Next day the lords debated the question, Whether there was actually an original contract between the king and people? And it was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seven voices. Then they disputed upon the grammatical signification of the word "Abdicated," and agreed that "Deserted" should be used in its place. The next word they examined was the term "Vacant;" and this question was proposed, "Whether, supposing king James had violated the original contract between him and his people, and abandoned the government, the throne was thereby become vacant?" The Tories maintained, that by the laws of England, the king could never die: of consequence the throne could not be vacant; and it passed in the negative by a majority of eleven: forty peers, however, entered a protest against this decision. Some of the

They con-
cur with the
vote of the
commons.

A. C. 1689. whig party moved that, supposing king James virtually dead, they should acknowledge the prince and princess of Orange king and queen of England: but this proposal was rejected by a small majority. On the second day of February, the lords sent down the vote of the commons, with their amendments, which were not approved by the lower house. A conference was held, without producing an accommodation: then the commons appointed four and twenty members, to maintain the opinions of their house, in a new conference; and the peers nominated the earls of Nottingham, Clarendon, Rochester, and Pembroke, the bishop of Ely, and some others, to support their sentiments in favour of the amendments they had proposed. This conference was managed with great ability on the part of the commons, by Hambden, Somers, Holt, Maynard, Treby, Sacheverel, Pollexfen, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Richard Temple, Foley, and Ayres: yet, rather than shock the tories by attacking their favourite doctrines, they chose to wave some strong arguments they might have deduced from the necessity of the case, the first principles of the constitution, and the natural right that, in such emergencies, the people certainly had to provide extraordinary remedies for the preservation of the community. The report of this conference, made to the house of peers, produced warm debates: but at length the majority agreed to desist from their amendments; and the house concurred with the vote of the commons, "That king James had abdicated the government, and thereby the throne was become vacant."

Private declaration of the prince of Orange.

During these disputes the prince of Orange remained at St. James's, without making the least effort to increase the number of his partisans.

Though

Though naturally dry and phlegmatic, he was now A. C. 1689. more reserved than ever; and the members of both houses were surpris'd, that no application was made to them in his behalf. At length sending for the marquis of Hallifax, the earls of Danby, Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen, he told them he had hitherto kept silence, that he might not seem to interfere with the freedom of their deliberations. He said he knew some persons were inclined to a regency, to which he had no objection; but, for his own part, he would not undertake the office. Others, he observed, were desirous of raising the princess to the throne; and that he should reign by her courtesy. He declared his profound esteem for the princess, but he was not of a humour to hold a crown dependent upon any woman on earth; nor would he have any share in the government, unless invested with it for life: nevertheless, if they thought proper to act in another manner, he would give them no opposition, but return to Holland, without meddling further in their affairs; but in case they should invest him with the royalty for life, he would agree that the posterity of the princess Anne should be preferred to that which he might have by a second marriage.

When the house of peers proceeded to deliberate upon an expedient to fill the vacant throne, Hallifax proposed that the prince of Orange should reign alone, and the princesses succeed in order, at his death. This motion gave rise to violent debates; and the two houses began to be divided into parties. The earl of Danby sent an express to the princess of Orange, with an assurance that if she chose to reign alone, he had interest enough to carry that point in her favour: she replied that she was the prince's wife, and would never cherish a separate

William and Mary proclaimed king and queen of England.

4. C. 1689. separate interest from that of her husband, to whom she transmitted the earl's letter. At last the two houses agreed, and each voted apart, that the prince and princess of Orange should reign jointly as king and queen of England; and that the administration should be in the hands of the prince alone. This vote, however, passed by a very small majority in the upper house, and not without a formal protest by the opposite party. Then the convention, after some disputes, reduced the oath of allegiance to its original simplicity, of being faithful to the king and queen. On the twelfth day of February the princess of Orange arrived in London. Next day the members of the two houses went in a body to the Banqueting-house, where the prince and princess sat in state; and the Declaration of Rights * being read, the marquis of Halifax,

Burnet.
Rapin.
Fechard
D'Avaux.
Ralph.

* Whereas the late king James the second, by the assistance of divers evil counsellors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subvert and extirpate the protestant religion; and the laws and liberties of this kingdom; by assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with, and suspending of laws, without consent of parliament: by committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power: by issuing and causing to be executed, a commission under the great seal, for erecting a court called, The court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes: by levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by parliament: By raising and keeping a standing-army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of parliament; and quartering soldiers contrary to law: By causing divers good subjects, being protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed contrary to law: By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in parliament: By prosecutions in the court of king's bench for matters and causes cognizable only in parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses. And whereas of late years, partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and

scrued

Hallifax, as speaker of the upper house, made a solemn tender of the crown to their highnesses, in the

A. C. 1689.

served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high-treason, which were not freeholders; and excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects; and excessive fines have been imposed; and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted; and several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied. All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

And whereas the said late king James the second having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the commons) cause letters to be written to the lords spiritual and temporal, being protestants, and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque-ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them, as

were of right to be sent to parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the twenty-second day of January, in this year 1688, in order to such an establishment, as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted: Upon which letters, elections having been accordingly made; and thereupon the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, pursuant to their several letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representative of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done) for vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties; declare,

1. That the pretended power of suspending laws, or execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of parliament, is illegal. 2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal. 3. That the commission for erecting the late court of commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, and all other commissions and courts of the like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

A. C. 1689. the name of the peers and commons of England: The prince replied in gracious terms of acknowledgment;

alous. 4. That levying of money for or to the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative, without grant of parliament, for longer time, or in any other manner than the same is or shall be granted; is illegal. 5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal. 6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace; unless it be with consent of parliament; is against law. 7. That the subjects, which are protestants, may have arms for their defence suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law. 8. That elections of members of parliament ought to be free. 9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of parliament. 10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted. 11. That jurors ought to be duly empannelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials of high-treason ought to be freeholders. 12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons, before conviction, are illegal and void. 13. And that for redress of all grie-

vances, and for the amending; strengthening, and preserving of the laws; parliaments ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim; demand; and insist upon all and singular the premises; as their undoubted rights and liberties: And no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings; to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example. To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highness the prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein,

Having therefore an entire confidence, that his said highness the prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights and liberties; the lords spiritual and temporal, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, That William and Mary, prince and princess of Orange, be, and be declared king and queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions therunto belonging, to hold

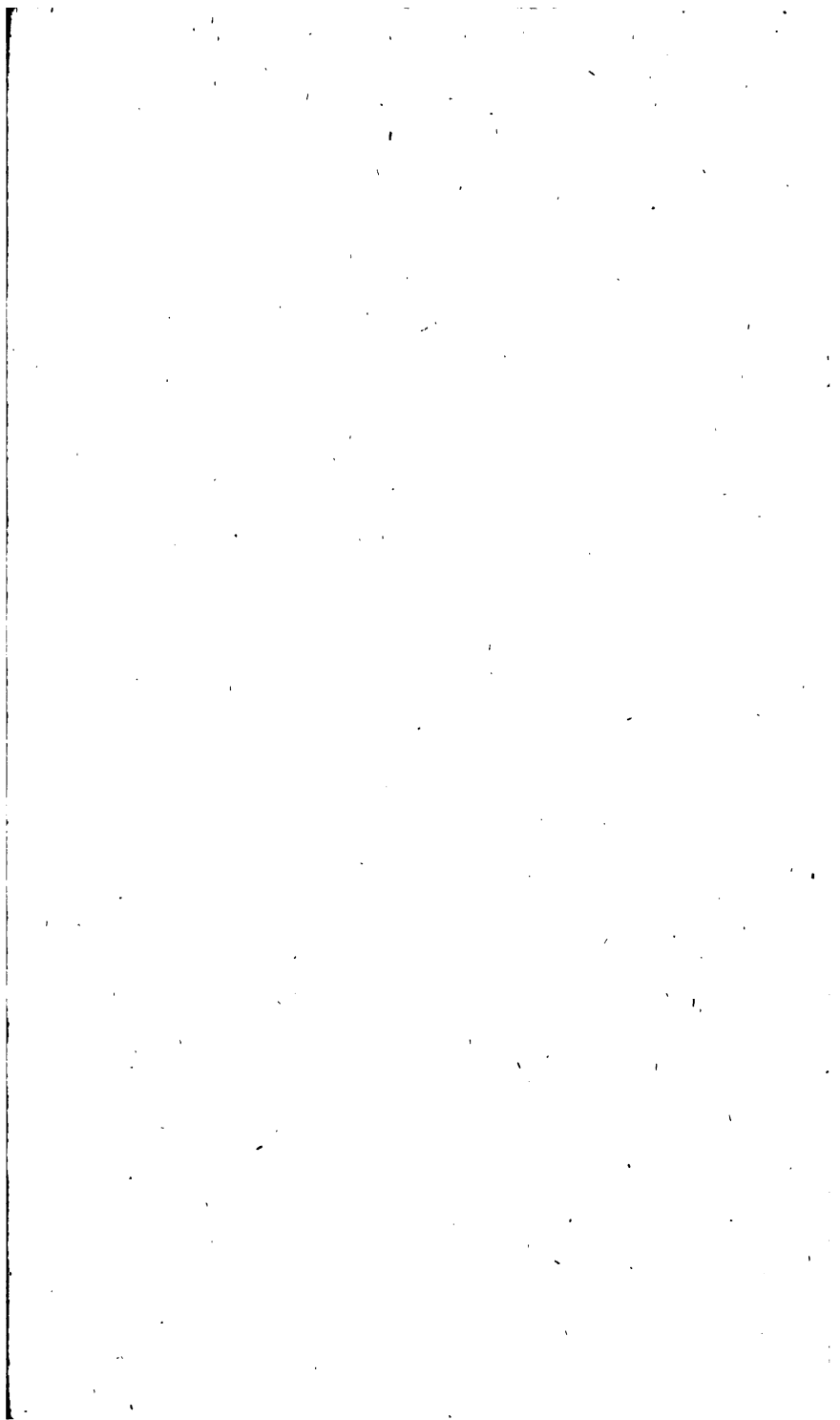
judgment; and that very day he and the princess were proclaimed by the names of William and Mary, king and queen of England. A. C. 1689.

hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions, to them the said prince and princess, during their lives and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in, and executed by the said prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess during their joint lives; and after their decease the said crown and royal dignity to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue, to the princess Anne of Denmark, and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said prince of Orange.

And the said lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do pray the said prince and princess of Orange to accept the same accordingly: And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be

taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated: I A. B. do sincerely promise and swear, That I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties, king William and queen Mary. So help me God. I A. B. do swear, That I do from my heart abhor, detest and abjure, as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope, or any authority of the see of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare, That no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority ecclesiastical, or spiritual, within this realm. So help me God.







A COMPLETE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM THE
REVOLUTION,
TO THE
TREATY of AIX LA CHAPELLE, 1748.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

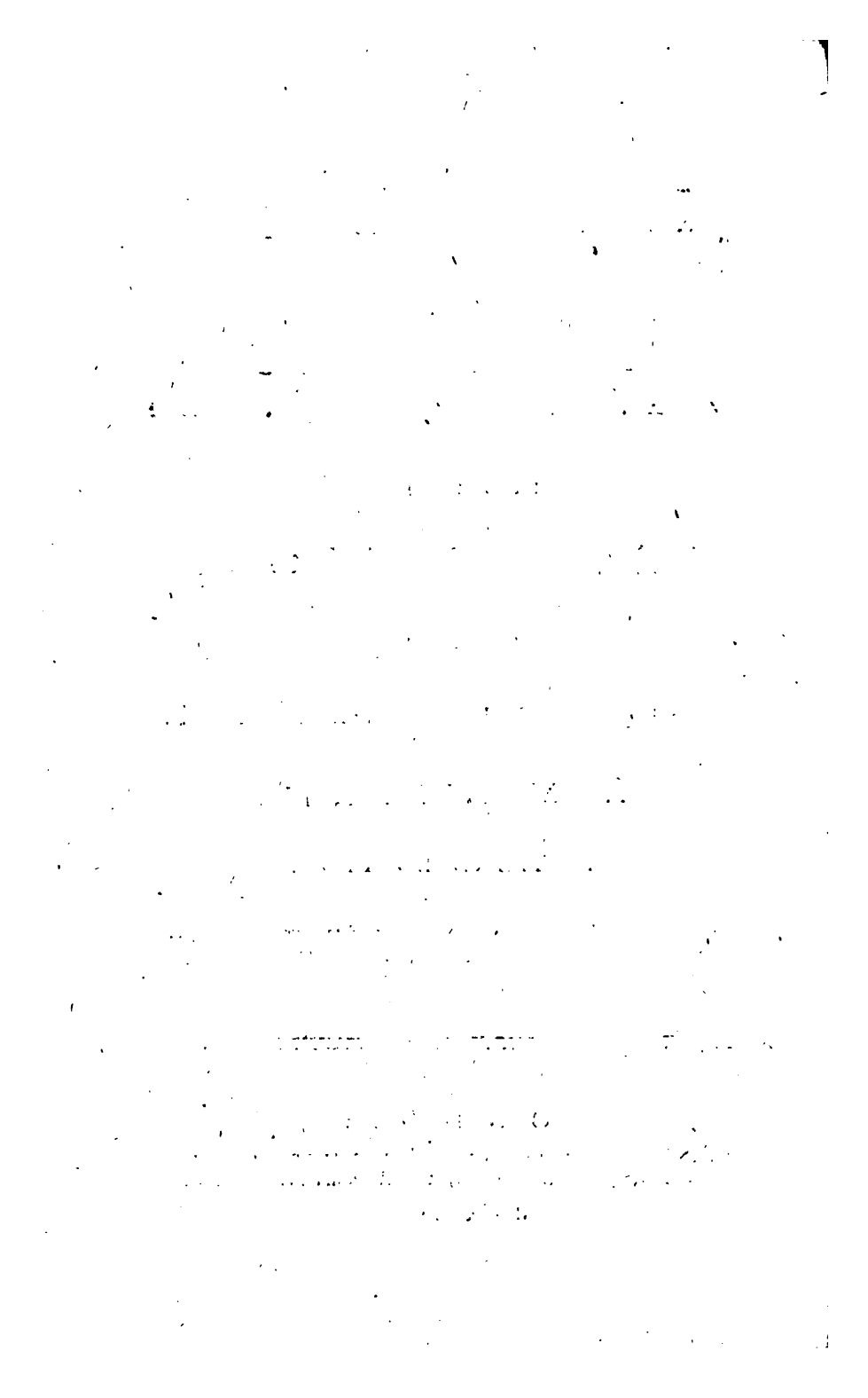
THE THIRD EDITION.

Non tamen pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis, ac
testimonium presentium bonorum composuisse. TACIT. Agricola.

L O N D O N :

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Oxford-Theatre; and R. BALDWIN, at the Rose, in Paternoster-row.

MDCCCLIX.



THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

BOOK EIGHTH.

From the REVOLUTION to the Death of
queen ANNE.



WILLIAM III.

THE constitution of England had now assumed a new aspect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeasible right, was at length renounced by a free parliament. The power of the crown was acknowledged to flow from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people. Allegiance and protection were declared reciprocal ties depending upon each other. The representatives of the nation made a regular claim of rights in behalf of their constituents; and William III. ascended the throne in consequence of an express capitulation with the people. Yet on this occasion, the zeal of the parliament towards their deliverer seems to have overshot their attachment to their own liberty and privileges: or at least they

A. C. 1689.
State of the nation immediately after the revolution.

A. C. 1689. neglected the fairest opportunity that ever occurred, to retrench those prerogatives of the crown to which they imputed all the late and former calamities of the kingdom. Their new monarch retained the old regal power over parliaments, in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. He was enabled to influence elections and oppress corporations. He possessed the right of choosing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the state, and of the household, of the army, the navy, and the church. He reserved the absolute command of the militia: so that he remained master of all the instruments and engines of corruption and violence, without any other restraint than his own moderation, and prudent regard to the claim of rights and principle of resistance on which the revolution was founded. In a word, the settlement was finished with some precipitation, before the plan had been properly digested and matured; and this will be the case in every establishment formed upon a sudden emergency in the face of opposition. It was observed, that the king, who was made by the people, had it in his power to rule without them; to govern *jure divino*, though it was created *jure humano*; and that, though the change proceeded from a republican spirit, the settlement was built upon tory maxims; for the execution of his government continued still independent of his commission, while his own person remained sacred and inviolable. The prince of Orange had been invited to England by a coalition of parties, united by a common sense of danger; but this tie was no sooner broken, than they flew asunder, and each resumed its original bias. Their mutual jealousy and rancour revived, and was heated by dispute into intemperate zeal and enthusiasm. Those who at first acted from principles of patriotism,

patriotism, were insensibly warmed into partisans; and king William soon found himself at the head of a faction. As he had been bred a calvinist, and always expressed an abhorrence of spiritual persecution, the presbyterians, and other protestant dissenters, considered him as their peculiar protector, and entered into his interests with the most zealous fervour and assiduity. For the same reasons, the friends of the church became jealous of his proceedings, and employed all their influence, first in opposing his elevation to the throne, and afterwards in thwarting his measures. Their party was espoused by all the friends of the lineal succession; by the Roman catholics; by those who were personally attached to the late king, and by such as were disgusted by the conduct and personal deportment of William since his arrival in England. They observed, That, contrary to his declaration, he had plainly aspired to the crown; and treated his father-in-law with insolence and rigour: That his army contained a number of foreign papists, almost equal to that of the English Roman catholics whom James had employed: that the reports so industriously circulated about the birth of the prince of Wales, the treaty with France for enslaving England, and the murder of the earl of Essex; reports countenanced by the prince of Orange, now appeared to be without foundation: That the Dutch troops remained in London, while the English forces were distributed in remote quarters: That the prince declared the first should be kept about his person, and the latter sent to Ireland: That the two houses, out of complaisance to William, had denied their late sovereign the justice of being heard in his own defence: and, That the Dutch had lately interfered with the trade of London, which was already sensibly diminished. These were the sources of discontent, swelled up by the resentment of

Somers's
Collection.
Rereby.
Burnet.

A. C. 1689. some noblemen, and other individuals, disappointed in their hopes of profit and preferment.

Account of
the new mi-
nistry.

William began his reign with a proclamation, for confirming all protestants in the offices which they enjoyed on the first day of December: then he chose the members of his council, who were generally staunch to his interest, except the archbishop of Canterbury and the earl of Nottingham*, and these were admitted in complaisance to the church-party, which it was not thought advisable to provoke. Nottingham and Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state; the privy-seal was bestowed upon the marquis of Halifax: the earl of Danby was created president of the council. These two noblemen enjoyed a good share of the king's confidence: and Nottingham was considerable as head of the church-party: but the chief favourite was Bentinck, first commoner on the list of privy-counsellors, as well as groom of the stole and privy-purse. D'Auverquerque was made master of the horse, Zuylenstein of the robes, and Schomberg of the ordnance: the treasury, admiralty, and chancery, were put in commission; twelve able judges were chosen †; and the diocese of Salisbury being vacated by the death of doctor Ward, the king, of his own free motion, filled it with Burnet, who had been a zealous stickler for his interest; and, in a particular manner, instrumental in effect-

* The council consisted of the prince of Denmark, the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Norfolk, the marquises of Halifax and Winchester, the earls of Danby, Lindsey, Devonshire, Dorset, and Middlesex, Oxford, Shrewsbury, Bedford, Bath, Macclesfield, Nottingham; the viscounts Falconbridge, Mordaunt, Newport, Lumley; the lords Wharton, Montague, Delamere,

Churchill; Mr. Bentinck, Mr. Sidney, Sir Robert Howard, Sir Henry Capel, Mr. Powel, Mr. Russel, Mr. Hambden, and Mr. Boscawen.

† Sir John Holt was appointed lord chief-justice of the king's bench, and Sir Henry Pollexfen of the common pleas; the earl of Devonshire was made lord-steward of the household, and the earl of Dorset lord-chamberlain.

Ralph.

ing

ing the revolution. Sancroft archbishop of Canterbury refused to consecrate this ecclesiastic, tho' the reasons of his refusal are not specified: but, being afraid of incurring the penalties of a prebend, he granted a commission to the bishop of London, and three other suffragans, to perform that ceremony. Burnet was a prelate of some parts, and great industry; moderate in his notions of church-discipline, inquisitive, meddling, vain, and credulous. In consequence of having incurred the displeasure of the late king, he had retired to the continent, and fixed his residence in Holland, where he was naturalized, and attached himself to the interest of the prince of Orange, who consulted him about the affairs of England. He assisted in drawing up the prince's manifesto, and wrote some other papers and pamphlets in defence of his design. He was demanded of the states, by the English ambassador, as a British fugitive, outlawed by king James, and excepted in the act of indemnity: nevertheless, he came over with William, in quality of his chaplain; and, by his intrigues, contributed in some measure to the success of that expedition. The principal individuals that composed this ministry have been characterised in the history of the preceding reigns. We have had occasion to mention the fine talents, the vivacity, the flexibility of Hallifax; the plausibility, the enterprising genius, the obstinacy of Danby; the pompous eloquence, the warmth, and ostentation of Nottingham; the probity and popularity of Shrewsbury. Godolphin, now brought into the treasury, was modest, silent, sagacious, and upright. Mordaunt, appointed first commissioner of that board, and afterwards created earl of Monmouth, was open, generous, and a republican in his principles. Delamere, chancellor of the exchequer, promoted in the sequel to the rank of earl of Warrington,

A. C. 1629. was close and mercenary. Obsequiousness, fidelity, and attachment to his master, composed the character of Bentinck, whom the king raised to the dignity of earl of Portland.

The English favourite Sidney was a man of wit and pleasure, possessed of the most engaging talents for conversation and private friendship, but rendered unfit for public business by indolence and inattention. He was ennobled, and afterwards created earl of Romney, a title which he enjoyed with several successive posts of profit and importance. The stream of honour and preferment ran strong in favour of the Whigs, and this appearance of partiality confirmed the suspicion and resentment of the opposite party.

The convention converted into a parliament.

The first resolution taken in the new council was to convert the convention into a parliament, that the new settlement might be strengthened by a legal sanction, which was now supposed to be wanting, as the assembly had not been convoked by the king's writ of summons. The experiment of a new election was deemed too hazardous: therefore, the council determined that the king should, by virtue of his own authority, change the convention into a parliament, by going to the house of peers with the usual state of a sovereign, and pronouncing a speech from the throne to both houses. This expedient was accordingly practised. He assured them he should never take any step that would diminish the good opinion they had conceived of his integrity. He told them that Holland was in such a situation as required their immediate attention and assistance: that the posture of affairs at home likewise demanded their serious consideration: that a good settlement was necessary not only for the establishment of domestic peace, but also for the support of the protestant interest
abroad;

abroad; that the affairs of Ireland were too critically situated to admit of the least delay in their deliberations: he therefore begged they would be speedy and effectual in concerting such measures as should be judged indispensibly necessary for the welfare of the nation. The commons, returning to their house, immediately passed a vote of thanks to his majesty, and made an order that his speech should be taken into consideration. After the throne had been declared vacant by a small majority of the peers, those who opposed that measure had gradually withdrawn themselves from the house; so that very few remained but such as were devoted to the new monarch. These therefore brought in a bill for preventing all disputes concerning the present parliament. In the mean time, Mr. Hambden, in the lower house, put the question, Whether a king elected by the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled at Westminster, coming to, and consulting with the said lords and commons, did not make as complete a parliament, and legislative power and authority, as if the said king should cause new elections to be made by writ? Many members affirmed, that the king's writ was as necessary as his presence to the being of a legal parliament; and as the convention was defective in this particular, it could not be vested with a parliamentary authority by any management whatsoever. The Whigs replied, That the essence of a parliament consisted in the meeting and co-operation of the king, lords, and commons; and that it was not material whether they were convoked by writ or by letter. They proved this assertion by examples deduced from the history of England: they observed, that a new election would be attended with great trouble, expence, and loss of time; and that such delay might prove

A. C. 1689. prove fatal to the protestant interest in Ireland, as well as to the allies on the continent. In the midst of this debate, the bill was brought down from the lords; and being read, a committee was appointed to make some amendments. These were no sooner made than the commons sent it back to the upper house, and it immediately received the royal assent. By this act the lords and commons assembled at Westminster were declared the two houses of parliament to all intents and purposes: it likewise ordained, That the present act and all other acts to which the royal assent should be given before the next prorogation, should be understood and adjudged in law to begin on the thirteenth day of February: That the members, instead of the old oaths of allegiance and supremacy, should take the new oath incorporated in this act, under the antient penalty: and, That the present parliament should be dissolved in the usual manner. Immediately after this transaction, a warm debate arose in the house of commons about the revenue, which the courtiers alledged had devolved with the crown upon William, at least, during the life of James: for which term the greater part of it had been granted. Those in the opposition affirmed, that those grants were vacated with the throne; and at length it was voted, That the revenue had expired. Then a motion was made, That a revenue should be settled on the king and queen; and the house resolved it should be taken into consideration. While they deliberated on this affair, they received a message from his majesty, importing, that the late king had set sail from Brest with an armament to invade Ireland. They forthwith resolved to assist his majesty with their lives and fortunes: they voted a temporary aid of four hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be levied by monthly assess-

assessment; and both houses waited on the king, A. C. 1689. to signify this resolution. But this unanimity did not take place, until several lords spiritual as well as temporal, had, rather than take the oaths, absented themselves from parliament. The nonjuring prelates were Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury; Turner, bishop of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; Loyd, of Norwich; Thomas, of Worcester; and Frampton, of Gloucester. The temporal peers who refused the oath, were the duke of Newcastle, the earls of Clarendon, Litchfield, Exeter, Yarmouth, and Stafford; the lords Griffin and Stawel. Five of the bishops withdrew themselves from the house at one time; but, before they retired, one of the number moved for a bill of toleration, and another of comprehension, by which moderate dissenters might be reconciled to the church, and admitted into ecclesiastical benefices. Such bills were actually prepared and presented by the earl of Nottingham, who received the thanks of the house for the pains he had taken. From this period, the party averse to the government of William were distinguished by the appellation of Nonjurors. They rejected the notion of a king *de facto*, as well as all other distinctions and limitations; and declared for the absolute power and divine hereditary indefeasible right of sovereigns.

This faction had already begun to practise against the new government. The king, having received some intimation of their designs, from intercepted letters, ordered the earl of Arran, Sir Robert Hamilton, and some other gentlemen of the Scottish nation, to be apprehended, and sent prisoners to the Tower. Then he informed the two houses of the step he had taken, and even craved their advice with regard to his conduct in such

Mutiny in the army.

A. C. 1684. such a delicate affair, which had compelled him to trespass upon the law of England. The lords thanked him for the care he took of their liberties, and desired he would secure all disturbers of the peace; but, the commons impowered him by a bill to dispense with the Habeas corpus act, till the seventeenth day of April next ensuing. This was a stretch of confidence in the crown which had not been made in favour of the late king, even while Argyle and Monmouth were in open rebellion. A spirit of discontent had by this time diffused itself through the army, and become so formidable to the court, that the king resolved to retain the Dutch troops in England, and send over to Holland in their room such regiments as were most tinctured with disaffection. Of these the Scottish regiment of Dumbarton, commanded by marechal Schomberg, mutinied on its march to Ipswich, seized the military chest, disarmed the officers who opposed their design, declared for king James, and, with four pieces of cannon, began their march for Scotland. William being informed of this revolt, ordered general Ginkle to pursue them with three regiments of Dutch dragoons; and the mutineers surrendered at discretion. As the delinquents were natives of Scotland, which had not yet submitted in form to the new government, the king did not think proper to punish them as rebels, but ordered them to proceed for Holland, according to his first intention. Though this attempt proved abortive, it made a strong impression upon the ministry, who were divided among themselves, and wavered in their principles. However, they seized this opportunity to bring in a bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, which in a little time passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

The

The coronation-oath,* being altered, and explained, that ceremony was performed on the eleventh day of April, the bishop of London officiating, at the king's desire, in the room of the metropolitan, who was a malcontent. . . . Next day the commons, in a body, waited on the king and queen at Whitehall, with an address of congratulation. William, with a view to conciliate the affections of his new subjects, and check the progress of clamour and discontent, signified, in a solemn message to the house of commons, his readiness to acquiesce in any measure they should think proper to take for a new regulation, or total suppression of the hearth-money, which he understood was a grievous imposition on the subjects; and this tax was afterwards abolished. He was gratified with an address of thanks, couched in the warmest expressions of duty, gratitude, and affection; declaring they would take such measures in support of his crown, as would convince the world, that he reigned in the hearts of his people.

A. C. 2689.
The coronation, and abolition of hearth-money.

He had, in his answer to their former address, assured them of his constant regard to the rights and prosperity of the nation; he had explained the exhausted state of the Dutch, expatiated upon

The commons vote a sum of money to indemnify the Dutch.

* The new form of the coronation-oath consisted in the following questions and answers: "Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes in parliament agreed on, and the laws and customs of the same?"

"I solemnly promise so to do."
"Will you, to your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?"

"I will."
"Will you, to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God,

"the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion as by law established? And will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as by law do, or shall appertain unto them, or any of them?"

"All this I promise to do."
Then the king or queen laying his or her hand upon the gospels, shall say, "The things which I have here before promised, I will perform and keep. So help me God."

A. C. 1689. the zeal of that republic for the interests of Britain, and the maintenance of the protestant religion; expressed his hope that the English parliament would not only repay the sums they had expended in his expedition; but, likewise farther support them to the utmost of their ability against the common enemies of their liberties and religion. He had observed that a considerable army and fleet would be necessary for the reduction of Ireland, and the protection of Britain; and he desired they would settle the revenue in such a manner, that it might be collected without difficulty and dispute. The sum total of the money expended by the states-general in William's expedition, amounted to seven millions of guilders, and the commons granted six hundred thousand pounds for the discharge of this debt, incurred for the preservation of their rights and religion. They voted funds for raising and maintaining an army of two and twenty thousand men, as well as for equipping a numerous fleet; but, they provided for no more than half a year's subsistence of the troops, hoping the reduction of Ireland might be finished in that term; and this instance of frugality the king considered as a mark of their diffidence of his administration. The Whigs were resolved to supply him gradually, that he might be the more dependent upon their zeal and attachment; but, he was not at all pleased with their precaution.

William's efforts in favour of the dissenters.

William was naturally biased to calvinism, and averse to persecution. Whatever promises he had made, and whatever sentiments of respect he entertained for the church of England, he seemed now in a great measure alienated from it, by the opposition he had met with from its members, particularly from the bishops who had thwarted his measures; who had, by absenting themselves from parliament, and refusing the oath, plainly disowned

ed his title, and renounced his government. He therefore resolved to mortify the church, and gratify his own friends at the same time, by removing the obstacles affixed to nonconformity, that all protestant dissenters should be rendered capable of enjoying and exercising civil employments. When he gave his assent to the bill for suspending the Habeas corpus act, he recommended the establishment of a new oath in lieu of those of allegiance and supremacy: he expressed his hope that they would leave room for the admission of all his protestant subjects who should be found qualified for the service: he said, such a conjunction would unite them the more firmly among themselves, and strengthen them against their common adversaries. In consequence of this hint, a clause was inserted in the bill for abrogating the old and appointing the new oaths, by which the sacramental test was declared unnecessary in rendering any person capable of enjoying any office or employment. It was, however, rejected by a great majority in the house of lords. Another clause for the same purpose, though in different terms, was proposed by the king's direction, and met with the same fate, though in both cases several noblemen entered a protest against the resolution of the house. These fruitless efforts, in favour of dissenters, augmented the prejudice of the churchmen against king William, who would have willingly compromised the difference, by excusing the clergy from the oaths, provided the dissenters might be exempted from the sacramental test; but, this was deemed the chief bulwark of the church, and therefore the proposal was rejected. The church-party in the house of lords moved, that instead of inserting a clause, obliging the clergy to take the oaths, the king should be empowered to tender him; and, in case of their refusal, they should incur the penalty,

A. C. 1689. penalty, because deprivation, or the apprehension of it, might make them desperate, and excite them to form designs against the government. This argument had no weight with the commons, who thought it was indispensably necessary to exact the oaths of the clergy, as their example influenced the kingdom in general, and the youth of the nation were formed under their instructions. After a long and warm debate, all the mitigation that could be obtained, was a clause to empower the king to indulge any twelve clergymen deprived by virtue of this act, with a third part of their benefices during pleasure. Thus the antient oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abrogated; the declaration of non-resistance in the act of uniformity was repealed; the new oath of allegiance was reduced to its primitive simplicity; and the coronation oath rendered more explicit. The clergy were enjoined to take the new oaths before the first day of August, on pain of being suspended from their office for six months; and of intire deprivation, in case they should not take them before the expiration of this term. They generally complied, though with such reservations and distinctions as were not much for the honour of their sincerity.

Act for a toleration.

The king, though baffled in his design against the sacramental test, resolved to indulge the dissenters with a toleration; and a bill for this purpose being prepared by the earl of Nottingham, was, after some debate, passed into a law, under the title of, An act for exempting their majesties protestant subjects, dissenting from the church of England, from the penalties of certain laws. It enacted, That none of the penal laws should be construed to extend to those dissenters who should take the oaths to the present government, and subscribe the declaration of the thirtieth year in the reign of Charles II. provided, that they should hold

W I L L I A M III.

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A. C. 1689.

hold no private assemblies or conventicles with the doors shut; and that nothing should be construed to exempt them from the payment of tythes or other parochial duties: That, in case of being chosen in the offices of constable, church-warden, overseer, &c. and of scrupling to take the oaths annexed to such offices, they should be allowed to execute the employment by deputy: That the preachers and teachers in congregations of dissenting protestants, who shall take the oaths, subscribe the declaration, together with all the articles of religion, except the thirty-fourth and the two succeeding articles, and part of the twentieth, should be exempted from the penalties decreed against non-conformists, as well as from serving upon juries, or acting in parish-offices; yet all justices of the peace were empowered to require such dissenters to subscribe the declaration, and take the oaths; and, in case of refusal, to commit them to prison, without bail or mainprize. The same indulgence was extended to anabapists, and even to quakers, on their solemn promise, before God, to be faithful to the king and queen; and their assenting by profession and asseveration to those articles which the others ratified upon oath: they were likewise required to profess their belief in the Trinity and the Holy Scriptures. Even the papists felt the benign influence of William's moderation in spiritual matters: he rejected the proposals of some zealots, who exhorted him to enact severe laws against popish recusants. Such a measure, he observed, would alienate all the papists of Europe from the interests of England, and might produce a new catholic league, which would render the war a religious quarrel; besides, he could not pretend to screen the protestants of Germany and Hungary, while he himself should persecute the catholics of England. He therefore resolved to treat them

A. C. 1689. with lenity; and though they were not comprehended in the act, they enjoyed the benefit of the toleration.

Violent disputes about the bill for a comprehension.

We have observed, that in consequence of the motion made by the bishops when they withdrew from parliament, a bill was brought into the house of lords, for uniting their majesties protestant subjects. This was extremely agreeable to the king, who had the scheme of comprehension very much at heart. In the progress of the bill a warm debate arose about the posture of kneeling at the sacrament, which was given up in favour of the dissenters. Another, no less violent, ensued upon the subsequent question, "Whether there should be an addition of laity in the commission to be given by the king to the bishops and others of the clergy, for preparing such a reformation of ecclesiastical affairs as might be the means of healing divisions, and correcting whatever might be erroneous or defective in the constitution?" A great number of the temporal lords insisted warmly on this addition; and when it was rejected, four peers entered a formal protest. Bishop Burnet was a warm stickler for the exclusion of the laity; and, in all probability, manifested this warmth in hope of ingratiating himself with his brethren, among whom his character was very far from being popular. But the merit of this sacrifice was destroyed by the arguments he had used for dispensing with the posture of kneeling at the sacrament; and by his proposing in another proviso of the bill, that the subscribers, instead of expressing assent and consent, should only submit, with a promise of conformity.

The commons address the king to summon a convocation of the clergy.

The bill was with difficulty passed in the house of lords: but the commons treated it with neglect. By this time a great number of malcontent members, who had retired from parliament, were returned,

turned, with a view to thwart the administration, though they could not prevent the settlement. Instead of proceeding with the bill, they presented an address to the king, thanked him for his gracious declaration, and repeated assurances, that he would maintain the church of England as by law established; a church whose doctrine and practice had evinced its loyalty beyond all contradiction. They likewise humbly besought his majesty to issue writs for calling a convocation of the clergy, to be consulted in ecclesiastical matters, according to the antient usage of parliaments; and they declared they would forthwith take into consideration, proper methods for giving ease to protestant dissenters. Though the king was displeased at this address, in which the lords also had concurred, he returned a civil answer, by the mouth of the earl of Nottingham, professing his regard for the church of England, which should always be his peculiar care; recommending the dissenters to their protection, and promising to summon a convocation as soon as such a measure should be convenient. This message produced no effect in favour of the bill, which lay neglected on the table. Those who moved for it had no other view than that of displaying their moderation; and now they excited their friends to oppose it with all their interest. Others were afraid of espousing it, lest they should be stigmatized as enemies to the church; and a great number of the most eminent presbyterians were averse to a scheme of comprehension, which would diminish their strength, and weaken the importance of the party. Being therefore violently opposed on one hand, and but faintly supported on the other, no wonder it miscarried. The king, however, was so bent upon the execution of his design, that it was next session revived in another form, though with no better success.

A. C. 1689.

Settlement
of the re-
venue.

The next object that engrossed the attention of the parliament, was the settlement of a revenue for the support of the government. Hitherto there had been no distinction of what was allotted for the king's use, and what was assigned for the service of the public; so that the sovereign was entirely master of the whole supply. As the revenue in the late reigns had been often embezzled and misapplied, it was now resolved that a certain sum should be set apart for the maintenance of the king's household, and the support of his dignity; and that the rest of the public money should be employed under the inspection of parliament. Accordingly, since this period, the commons have appropriated the yearly supplies to certain specified services; and an account of the application has been constantly submitted to both houses at the next session. At this juncture, the prevailing party, or the Whigs, determined that the revenue should be granted from year to year, or at least for a small term of years, that the king might find himself dependent upon the parliament, and merit a renewal of the grant by a just and popular administration. In pursuance of this maxim, when the revenue fell under consideration, they, on pretence of charges and anticipations, which they had not time to examine, granted it by a provisional act for one year only. The civil list was settled at six hundred thousand pounds, chargeable with the appointments of the queen dowager, the prince and princess of Denmark, the judges, and marechal Schomberg, to whom the parliament had already granted one hundred thousand pounds, in consideration of his important services to the nation. The commons also voted, that a constant revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds should be established for the support of the crown in time of peace.

The

The king took umbrage at these restraints laid upon the application of the public money, which were the most salutary fruits of the revolution. He considered them as marks of diffidence, by which he was distinguished from his predecessors; and thought them an ungrateful return for the services he had done to the nation. The Tories perceived his disgust, and did not fail to foment his jealousy against their adversaries, which was confirmed by a fresh effort of the Whigs, in relation to a militia. A bill was brought into the house, for regulating it in such a manner as would have rendered it in a great measure independent both of the king and the lords lieutenants of counties. These being generally peers, suffered the bill to lie neglected on the table; but the attempt confirmed the suspicion of the king, who began to think himself in danger of being enslaved by a republican party. The Tories had, by the canal of Nottingham, made proffers of service to his majesty; but complained, at the same time, that as they were in danger of being prosecuted for their lives and fortunes, they could not, without an act of indemnity, exert themselves in favour of the crown, lest they should incur a prosecution from their implacable enemies.

These remonstrances made such impression on the king, that he sent a message to the house by Mr. Hambden, recommending a bill of indemnity as the most effectual means for putting an end to all controversies, distinctions, and occasions of discord. He desired it might be prepared with all convenient expedition, and with such exceptions only as should seem necessary for the vindication of public justice, the safety of him and his consort, and the settlement and welfare of the nation. An address of thanks to his majesty was unanimously voted. Nevertheless, his design was frustrated by

A. C. 1689.
The king takes umbrage at the proceedings of the Whig-party.

Heats and animosities about the bill of indemnity recommended by the king.

A.C. 1689. the backwardness of the Whigs, who proceeded so slowly in the bill, that it could not be brought to maturity before the end of the session. They wanted to keep the scourge over the heads of their enemies, until they should find a proper opportunity for revenge; and, in the mean time, restrain them from opposition, by the terror of impending vengeance. They affected to insinuate that the king's design was to raise the prerogative as high as it had been in the preceding reigns; and for that purpose he pressed the act of indemnity, by virtue of which he might legally use the instruments of the late tyranny. The earls of Monmouth and Warrington industriously infused these jealousies into the minds of their party; while, on the other hand, the earl of Nottingham inflamed William's distrust of his old friends: and both sides succeeded in kindling an animosity, which had like to have produced confusion, notwithstanding the endeavours used by the earls of Shrewsbury and Devonshire to allay those heats, and remove the suspicion that mutually prevailed.

Birth of the duke of Gloucester.

It was now judged expedient to pass an act for settling the succession of the crown, according to the former resolution of the convention. A bill for this purpose was brought into the lower house, with a clause disabling papists from succeeding to the crown: to this the lords added, "Or such as should marry papists," absolving the subject in that case from allegiance. The bishop of Salisbury, by the king's direction, proposed that the princess Sophia dutchess of Hanover, and her posterity, should be nominated in the act of succession, as the next protestant heirs, failing issue of the king, and Anne princess of Denmark. These amendments gave rise to warm debates in the lower house, where they were vigorously opposed, not only by those who wished well in secret to the late king and the lineal

lineal succession, but likewise by the republican party, who hoped to see monarchy altogether extinguished in England, by the death of the three persons already named in the bill of succession. The lords insisted upon their amendments, and several fruitless conferences were held between the two houses. At length the bill was dropped for the present, in consequence of an event which in a great measure dissipated the fears of a popish successor. This was the delivery of the princess Anne, who, on the twenty-seventh day of July, brought forth a son, christened by the name of William, and afterwards created duke of Gloucester.

In the midst of these domestic disputes, William did not neglect the affairs of the continent. He retained all his former influence in Holland, as his countrymen had reason to confide in his repeated assurances of inviolable affection. The great scheme which he had projected of a confederacy against France, began at this period to take effect. The princes of the empire assembled in the diet, solemnly exhorted the emperor to declare war against the French king, who had committed numberless infractions of the treaties of Munster, Osnabrug, Nimeguen, and the truce, invaded their country without provocation, and evinced himself an inveterate enemy of the holy Roman empire. They therefore besought his imperial majesty to conclude a treaty of peace with the Turks, who had offered advantageous terms, and come to an open rupture with Lewis; in which case, they would consider it as a war of the empire, and support their head in the most effectual manner. The states-general published a declaration against the common enemy, taxing him with manifold infractions of the treaty of commerce; with having involved the subjects of the republic in the persecution which he had raised against the protestants; with having ca-

Affairs of
the conti-
nent.

A. C. 1689. joled and insulted them with deceitful promises and insolent threats; with having plundered and oppressed the Dutch merchants and traders in France; and finally, with having declared war against the states, without any plausible reason assigned. The elector of Brandenburg denounced war against France, as a power whose perfidy, cruelty, and ambition, it was the duty of every prince to oppose. The marquis De Castanaga governor of the Spanish Netherlands, issued a counter-declaration to that of Lewis, who had declared against his master. He accused the French king of having laid waste the empire, without any regard to the obligations of religion and humanity, or even to the laws of war; of having countenanced the most barbarous acts of cruelty and oppression; and of having intrigued with the enemies of Christ for the destruction of the empire. The emperor negotiated an alliance offensive and defensive, with the states-general, binding the contracting parties to co-operate with their whole power against France and her allies. It was stipulated, that neither side should engage in a separate treaty, on any pretence whatsoever: that no peace should be admitted, until the treaties of Westphalia, Osnabrug, Munster, and the Pyrenees, should have been vindicated: that in case of a negociation for a peace or truce, the transactions on both sides should be communicated bona fide; and that Spain and England should be invited to accede to the treaty. In a separate article, the contracting powers agreed, that in case of the Spanish king's dying without issue, the states-general should assist the emperor with all their forces to take possession of that monarchy: That they should use their friendly endeavours with the princes electors their allies, towards elevating his son Joseph to the dignity of king of the Romans, and employ their utmost force against France,

France, should she attempt to oppose his elevation. A. C. 1689.

William, who was the soul of this confederacy, War declared against France. found no difficulty in persuading the English to undertake a war against their old enemies and rivals. On the sixteenth day of April, Mr. Hambden made a motion for taking into consideration the state of the kingdom with respect to France, and foreign alliances; and the commons unanimously resolved, that in case his majesty should think fit to engage in a war with France, they would, in a parliamentary way, enable him to carry it on with vigour. An address was immediately drawn up, and presented to the king, desiring he would seriously consider the destructive methods taken of late years by the French king, against the trade, quiet, and interest of the nation, particularly his present invasion of Ireland, and supporting the rebels in that kingdom. They did not doubt but the alliances already made, with such as might hereafter be concluded by his majesty, would be sufficient to reduce the French king to such a condition, that it should not be in his power to violate the peace of Christendom; nor prejudice the trade and prosperity of England: in the mean time they assured his majesty he might depend upon the assistance of his parliament, according to the vote which had passed in the house of commons. This was a welcome address to king William, who assured them that no part of the supplies which they might grant for the prosecution of the war, should be misapplied; and, on the seventh day of May, he declared war against the French monarch. On this occasion Lewis was charged with having ambitiously invaded the territories of the emperor, and denounced war against the allies of England, in violation of the treaties confirmed under the guaranty of the English crown; with having encroached

A. C. 1689. croached upon the fishery of Newfoundland, invaded the Caribbee islands, taken forcible possession of New York and Hudson's-bay, made depredations on the English at sea, prohibited the importation of English manufactures, disputed the right of the flag, persecuted many English subjects on account of religion, contrary to express treaties and the law of nations; and sent an armament to Ireland, in support of the rebels of that kingdom.

Proceedings
in the con-
vention of
Scotland, of
which the
duke of Ha-
milton is
chosen pre-
sident.

Having thus described the progress of the revolution in England, we shall now briefly explain the measures that were prosecuted in Scotland, towards the establishment of William on the throne of that kingdom. The meeting of the Scottish convention was fixed for the fourteenth day of March; and both parties employed all their interest to influence the election of members. The duke of Hamilton, and all the presbyterians, declared for William. The duke of Gordon maintained the castle of Edinburgh for his old master; but, as he had neglected to lay in a store of provisions, he depended entirely upon the citizens for subsistence. The partizans of James were headed by the earl of Balcarras and Graham, viscount Dundee, who employed their endeavours to preserve union among the individuals of their party; to confirm the duke of Gordon, who began to waver in his attachment to their sovereign; and to manage their intrigues in such a manner, as to derive some advantage to their cause from the transactions of the ensuing session. When the lords and commons assembled at Edinburgh, the bishop of that diocese, who officiated as chaplain to the convention, prayed for the restoration of king James. The first dispute turned upon the choice of a president. The friends of the late king set up the marquis of Athol, in opposition to the duke of Hamilton; but this last was elected by a considerable majority; and a good
number

number of the other party finding their cause the weakest, deserted it from that moment. The earls of Lothian and Tweedale were sent as deputies, to require the duke of Gordon, in the name of the estates, to quit the castle in four and twenty hours, and leave the charge of it to the protestant officer next in command. The duke, though in himself irresolute, was animated by Dundee to demand such conditions as the convention would not grant. The negotiation proving ineffectual, the estates ordered the heralds, in all their formalities, to summon him to surrender the castle immediately, on pain of incurring the penalties of high treason; and he refusing to obey their mandate, was proclaimed a traitor. All persons were forbid, under the same penalties, to aid, succour, or correspond with him; and the castle was blocked up by the troops of the city.

A. C. 1689.

Next day an express arrived from London, with a letter from king William to the states; and at the same time, another from James was presented by one Crane, an English domestic of the abdicated queen. William observed that he had called a meeting of their estates, at the desire of the nobility and gentry of Scotland assembled at London, who requested that he would take upon himself the administration of their affairs. He exhorted them to concert measures for settling the peace of the kingdom upon a solid foundation; and to lay aside animosities and factions, which served only to impede that salutary settlement. He professed himself sensible of the good effects that would arise from an union of the two kingdoms; and assured them he would use his best endeavours to promote such a coalition. A committee being appointed to draw up a respectful answer to these assurances, a debate ensued about the letter from the late king James, which they resolved to favour with a reading,

Letters to
the conven-
tion from
king Wil-
liam and
king James.

A. C. 1689. ing, after the members should have subscribed an act, declaring, that notwithstanding any thing that might be contained in the letter for dissolving the convention, or impeding their procedure, they were a free and lawful meeting of the states, and would continue undissolved, until they should have settled and secured the protestant religion, the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom. Having taken this precaution, they proceeded to examine the letter of their late sovereign, who conjured them to support his interest as faithful subjects, and eternize their names by a loyalty suitable to their former professions. He said he would not fail to give them such speedy and powerful assistance as would enable them to defend themselves from any foreign attempt; and even to assert his right against those enemies who had depressed it by the blackest usurpations and unnatural attempts, which the Almighty God would not allow to pass unpunished. He offered pardon to all those who should return to their duty before the last day of the month; and threatened to punish rigorously such as should stand out in rebellion against him and his authority.

They recognise the authority of king William.

This address produced very little effect in favour of the unfortunate exile, whose friends were greatly outnumbered in this assembly. His messenger was ordered into custody, and afterwards dismissed with a pass instead of an answer. James foreseeing this contempt, had, by an instrument dated in Ireland, authorised the archbishop of Glasgow, the earl of Balcarras, and the viscount Dundee, to call a convention of the estates at Stirling. These three depended on the interest of the marquis of Athol and the earl of Mar, who professed the warmest affection for the late king; and they hoped a secession of their friends would embarrass the convention, so as to retard the settlement of king William.

Their

Their expectations, however, were disappointed. Athol deserted their cause; Mar suffered himself to be intercepted in his retreat; the rest of their party were, by the vigilance of the duke of Hamilton, prevented from leaving the convention, except the viscount of Dundee, who retreated to the mountains with about fifty horse, and was pursued by order of the estates. This design being frustrated, the convention approved and recognized by a solemn act, the conduct of the nobility and gentlemen who had intreated the king of England to take upon him the administration. They acknowledged their obligation to the prince of Orange, who had prevented the destruction of their laws, religion, and fundamental constitution: they besought his highness to assume the reins of government for that kingdom: they issued a proclamation, requiring all persons, from sixteen to sixty, to be in readiness to take arms when called upon for that purpose: they conferred the command of their horse-militia upon Sir Patrick Hume, who was attainted for having been concerned in Argyle's insurrection: they levied eight hundred men for a guard to the city of Edinburgh, and constituted the earl of Leven their commander: they put the militia all over the kingdom into the hands of those on whom they could rely: they created the earl of Mar governor of Stirling-castle: they received a reinforcement of five regiments from England, under the command of Mackay, whom they appointed their general; and they issued orders for securing all disaffected persons. Then they dispatched lord Ross, with an answer to king William's letter, professing their gratitude to their deliverer, congratulating him upon his success, thanking him for assuming the administration of their affairs, and assembling a convention of their estates, declaring they would take effectual and speedy measures for
securing

A. C. 1689. securing the protestant religion, as well as for establishing the government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom; assuring him they would, as much as lay in their power, avoid disputes and animosities; and desiring the continuance of his majesty's care and protection.

They vote the crown vacant, and pass an act of settlement in favour of William and Mary.

After the departure of lord Ross, they appointed a committee, consisting of eight lords, eight knights, and as many burgessees, to prepare the plan of a new settlement; but this resolution was not taken without a vigorous opposition from some remaining adherents of the late king, headed by the archbishop of Glasgow, all the other prelates, except he of Edinburgh, having already deserted the convention. After warm debates, the committee agreed in the following vote. "The estates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, That king James VII. being a professed papist, did assume the royal power, and act as a king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors, invaded the fundamental constitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy, to an arbitrary despotic power; and governed the same to the subversion of the protestant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all the ends of government; whereby he had forfeited the right of the crown, and the throne was become vacant." When this vote was reported, the bishop of Edinburgh argued strenuously against it, as containing a charge, of which the king was innocent; and he proposed that his majesty should be invited to return to his Scottish dominions. All his arguments were defeated or over-ruled; the house confirmed the vote, which was immediately enacted into a law by a great majority. The lord president declared the throne vacant, and proposed that it might

might be filled with William and Mary, king and queen of England. The committee was ordered to prepare an act for settling the crown upon their majesties, together with an instrument of government for securing the subjects from the grievances under which they laboured.

On the eleventh day of April, this act, with the conditions of inheritance, and the instrument, were reported, considered, unanimously approved, and solemnly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh, in presence of the lord president, assisted by the lord provost and magistracy of the city, the duke of Queensbury, the marquisses of Athol and Douglass, together with a great number of the nobility and gentry. At the same time they published another proclamation, forbidding all persons to acknowledge, obey, assist, or correspond with the late king James; or by word, writing, or sermon, to dispute or disown the royal authority of king William and queen Mary, or to misconstrue the proceedings of the estates, or create jealousies or misapprehensions with regard to the transactions of the government, on pain of incurring the most severe penalties. Then, having settled the coronation-oath, they granted a commission to the earl of Argyle for the lords, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the boroughs, empowering them to repair to London, and invest their majesties with the government. This affair being discussed, the convention appointed a committee to take care of the public peace, and adjourned to the twenty-first day of May. On the eleventh day of that month, the Scottish commissioners being introduced to their majesties at Whitehall, presented first a preparatory letter from the estates, then the instrument of government, with a paper containing a recital of the

They appoint commissioners to make a tender of their crown to William, who receives it on the conditions they propose.

A. C. 1689.

A. C. 1689. the grievances of the nation; and an address; desiring his majesty to convert the convention into a parliament. The king having graciously promised to concur with them in all just measures for the interest of the kingdom, the coronation-oath was tendered to their majesties by the earl of Argyle. As it contained a clause, importing, that they should root out heresy, the king declared, that he did not mean by these words, that he should be under an obligation to act as a persecutor: the commissioners replying, that such was not the meaning or import of the oath, he desired them, and others present, to bear witness to the exception he had made.

Enumerati-
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The con-
vention is
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parliament,
and the
duke of Ha-
milton
king's com-
missioner.

In the mean time, lord Dundee exerted himself with uncommon activity in behalf of his master. He had been summoned by a trumpet to return to the convention; but refused to obey the citation, on pretence that the Whigs had made an attempt upon his life; and that the deliberations of the estates were influenced by the neighbourhood of English troops, under the command of Mackay. He was forthwith declared a fugitive, outlaw, and rebel. He was rancorously hated by the presbyterians, on whom he had exercised some cruelties, as an officer under the former government; and for this reason the states resolved to inflict upon him exemplary punishment. Parties were detached in pursuit of him and Balcarras. This last fell into their hands, and was committed to a common prison; but Dundee fought his way through the troops that surrounded him, and escaped to the Highlands, where he determined to take arms in favour of James, though that prince had forbid him to make any attempt of that nature, until he should receive a reinforcement from Ireland. While this officer was employed in assembling the clans

of

of his party, king William appointed the duke of Hamilton commissioner to the convention-parliament. The post of secretary for Scotland was bestowed upon lord Melvil, a weak and fervile nobleman, who had taken refuge in Holland from the violences of the late reigns : but the king depended chiefly for advice upon Dalrymple lord Stair, president of the college of justice, an old crafty fanatic, who for fifty years had complied in all things with all governments. Tho' these were rigid presbyterians, the king, to humour the opposite party, admitted some individuals of the episcopal nobility to the council-board ; and this intermixture, instead of allaying animosities, served only to sow the seeds of discord and confusion. The Scottish convention, in their detail of grievances, enumerated the lords of the articles ; the act of parliament in the reign of Charles II. by which the king's supremacy was raised so high that he could prescribe any mode of religion according to his pleasure ; and the superiority of any office in the church, above that of presbyters. The king, in his instructions to the lord commissioner, consented to a regulation of the lords of the articles, though he would not allow the institution to be abrogated : he was contented that the act relating to the king's supremacy should be rescinded ; and that the church-government should be established in such a manner as would be most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.

On the seventeenth day of June, duke Hamilton opened the Scottish parliament, after the convention had assumed this name, in consequence of an act passed by his majesty's direction : but the members in general were extremely chagrined when they found the commissioners so much restricted in the affair of the lords of the articles,

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which

Prelacy abolished in that kingdom. The Scots dissatisfied with the king's conduct.

A. C. 1689.

A. C. 1689. which they considered as their chief grievance*. The king permitted that the estates should chuse the lords by their own suffrages; and that they should be at liberty to reconsider any subject which the said lords might reject. He afterwards indulged the three estates with the choice of eleven delegates each, for this committee, to be elected monthly, or oftener, if they should think fit; but even these concessions proved unsatisfactory, while the institution itself remained. Their discontents were not even appeased by the passing of an act, abolishing prelacy. Indeed their resentment was inflamed by another consideration: namely, that of the king's having given seats in the council to some individuals attached to the hierarchy. They manifested their sentiments on this subject by bringing in a bill, excluding from any public trust, place, or employment, under their majesties, all such as had been concerned in the encroachments of the late reign, or had discovered disaffection to the late happy change; or in any way retarded or obstructed the designs of the convention. This measure was prosecuted with great warmth; and the bill passed through all the forms of the house, but proved ineffectual for want of the royal assent.

Violent disputes in the Scottish parliament.

Nor were they less obstinate in the affair of the judges, whom the king had ventured to appoint by virtue of his own prerogative. The malcon-

* The lords of the articles, by the gradual usurpation of the crown, actually constituted a grievance intolerable in a free nation. The king empowered the commissioners to chuse eight bishops, whom he authorised to nominate eight noblemen: these together chose eight barons, and eight burgeses; and this whole number, in conjunction with the officers of state as supernumeraries, constituted the lords of the articles. This committee possessed the sole exclusive right and liberty of bringing in motions, making overtures for redressing wrongs, and proposing means and expedients for the relief, safety, and benefit of the subjects. Proceedings of the Scots parliament vindicated.

tents brought in a bill, declaring the bench vacant A. C. 1689. as it was at the restoration; asserting their own right to examine and approve those who should be appointed to fill it: providing, that if in time to come, any such total vacancy should occur, the nomination should be in the king, or queen, or regent for the time being, and the parliament retain the right of approbation; and that all the clauses in the several acts relating to the admission of the ordinary lords of session, and their qualifications for that office, should be ratified and confirmed for perpetual observation. Such was the interest of this party, that the bill was carried by a great majority, notwithstanding the opposition of the ministers, who resolved to maintain the king's nomination, even in defiance of a parliamentary resolution. The majority, exasperated at this open violation of their privileges, forbade the judges whom the king had appointed, to open their commissions, or hold a session until his majesty's further pleasure should be known: on the other hand, they were compelled to act by the menaces of the privy council. The dispute was carried on with great acrimony on both sides, and produced such a ferment, that before the session opened, the ministry thought proper to draw a great number of forces into the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, to support the judges in the exercise of their functions.

The lord-commissioner, alarmed at this scene of tumult and confusion, adjourned the house till the eighth day of October; a step, which added to the other unpopular measures of the court, incensed the opposition to such a degree, that they drew up a remonstrance to the king, complaining of this adjournment while the nation was yet unsettled, recapitulating the several instances in which they had expressed their zeal and affection for his majesty; explaining their reasons for dissenting from the ministry

Which is
adjourned.
A remon-
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the king.

A. C. 1689. nistry in some articles ; beseeching him to consider what they had represented ; to give his royal assent to the acts of parliament which they had prepared, and take measures for redressing all the other grievances of the nation. This address was presented to the king at Hampton-Court ; and he was so touched with the reproaches it implied, as if he had not fulfilled the conditions on which he accepted the crown of Scotland, that he, in his own vindication, published his instructions to the commissioner ; and by these it appeared, that the duke might have proceeded to greater lengths in obliging his countrymen. Before the adjournment, however, the parliament had granted the revenue for life ; and raised money for maintaining a body of forces, as well as for supporting the incidental expence of the government for some months ; yet part of the troops in that kingdom were supplied and subsisted by the administration of England. In consequence of these disputes in the Scottish parliament, their church was left without any settled form of government ; for, though the hierarchy was abolished, the presbyterian discipline was not yet established, and ecclesiastical affairs were occasionally regulated by the privy-council, deriving its authority from that very act of supremacy, which, according to the claim of rights, ought to have been repealed.

The castle of Edinburgh besieged and taken.

The session was no sooner adjourned, than Sir John Lanier converted the blockade of Edinburgh castle into a regular siege, which was prosecuted with such vigour, that in a little time the fortifications were ruined, and the works advanced to the foot of the walls, in which the besiegers had made several large breaches. The duke of Gordon finding his ammunition expended, his defences destroyed, his intelligence entirely cut off, and despairing of relief from the adherents of his master, desired

to capitulate, and obtained very favourable terms for his garrison; but, he would not stipulate any conditions for himself, declaring, that he had so much respect for all the princes descended from king James VI. that he would not affront any of them so far as to insist upon terms for his own particular; he therefore, on the thirteenth day of June, surrendered the castle and himself at discretion. All the hopes of James and his party were now concentrated in the viscount of Dundee, who had assembled a body of Highlanders, and resolved to attack Mackay, on an assurance he had received by message, that the regiment of Scottish dragoons would desert that officer, and join him in the action. Mackay having received intimation of this design, decamped immediately, and by long marches retired before Dundee, until he was reinforced by Ramsay's dragoons, and another regiment of English infantry; then he faced about, and Dundee in his turn retreated into Lochaber. Lord Murray, son of the marquis of Athol, assembled his vassals to the number of twelve hundred men for the service of the regency; but he was betrayed by one of his own dependants, who seized the castle of Blair for Dundee, and prevailed upon the Athol men to disperse rather than fight against James their lawful sovereign.

The viscount was by this time reduced to great difficulty and distress. His men had not for many weeks tasted bread or salt, or any drink but water: instead of five hundred infantry, three hundred horse, with a supply of arms, ammunition, and provision, which James had promised to send from Ireland, he received a reinforcement of three hundred naked recruits; but, the transports with the stores fell into the hands of the English. Though this was a mortifying disappointment, he bore it

The troops
of king
William de-
feated at
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A. C. 1689. without repining; and, far from abandoning himself to despair, began his march to the castle of Blair, which was threatened with a siege by general Mackay. When he reached this fortress, he received intelligence that the enemy had entered the pails of Killycrankie, and resolved to give them battle without delay. He accordingly advanced against them; and a furious engagement ensued, though it was not of long duration. The Highlanders having received and returned the fire of the English, fell in among them sword in hand with such impetuosity, that the foot were utterly broke in seven minutes. The dragoons fled at the first charge in the utmost consternation: Dundee's horse, not exceeding one hundred, broke through Mackay's own regiment. The earl of Dumbarton, at the head of a few volunteers, made himself master of the artillery: twelve hundred of Mackay's forces were killed on the spot, five hundred taken prisoners, and the rest fled with great precipitation for some hours, until they were rallied by their general, who was an officer of approved courage, conduct, and experience. Nothing could be more complete or decisive than the victory which the Highlanders obtained; yet it was dearly purchased with the death of their beloved chieftain the viscount of Dundee, who fell by a random-shot in the engagement, and his fate produced such confusion in the army as prevented all pursuit. He possessed an enterprising spirit, undaunted courage, inviolable fidelity, and was peculiarly qualified to command the people who fought under his banner. He was the life and soul of that cause which he espoused; and after his death it daily declined into ruin and disgrace. He was succeeded in command by colonel Cannon, who landed the reinforcement from Ireland; but, all his designs miscarried: so that the clans, wearied with repeated misfortunes, laid down their arms
by

by degrees, and took the benefit of a pardon, which A. C. 1689. king William offered to those who should submit within the time specified in his proclamation.

After this sketch of Scottish affairs, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of James, and relate the particulars of his expedition to Ireland. That unfortunate prince and his queen were received with the most cordial hospitality by the French monarch, who assigned the castle of St. Germain for the place of their residence, supported their household with great magnificence, enriched them with presents, and undertook to re-establish them on the throne of England. James, however, conducted himself in such a manner, as conveyed no favourable idea of his spirit and understanding. He seemed to have been emasculated by religion; he was deserted by that courage and magnanimity for which his youth had been distinguished. He did not discover great sensibility at the loss of his kingdom. All his faculties were swallowed up in bigotry. Instead of contriving plans for retrieving his crown, he held conferences with the jesuits on topics of religion. The pity which his misfortunes excited in Lewis was mingled with contempt. The pope supplied him with indulgences, while the Romans laughed at him in pasquinades. "There is a pious man, said the archbishop of Rheims, (ironically) who has sacrificed three crowns for a mass." In a word, he subjected himself to the ridicule and raillery of the French nation.

All the hope of reascending the British throne depended upon his friends in Scotland and Ireland. Tyrconnel, who commanded in this last kingdom, was confirmed in his attachment to James, by the persuasions of Hamilton, who had undertaken for his submission to the prince of Orange. Nevertheless, he disguised his sentiments, and tem-

King James cordially received by the French king.

Tyrconnel temporizes with king William.

A. C. 1689. porized with William, until James should be able to supply him with reinforcements from France, which he earnestly solicited by private messages. In the mean time, with a view to cajole the protestants of Ireland, and amuse king William with hope of his submission, he persuaded the lord Mountjoy, in whom the protestants chiefly confided, and baron Rice, to go in person with a commission to James, representing the necessity of yielding to the times; and of waiting a fitter opportunity to make use of his Irish subjects. Mountjoy, on his arrival at Paris, instead of being favoured with an audience by James, to explain the reasons which Tyrconnel had suggested touching the inability of Ireland to restore his majesty, was committed prisoner to the Bastile, on account of the zeal with which he had espoused the protestant interest. Although Lewis was sincerely disposed to assist James effectually, his intentions were obstructed by the disputes of his ministry. Louvois possessed the chief credit in council; but, Seignelai enjoyed a greater share of personal favour, both with the king and madam de Maintenon. To this nobleman, as secretary for marine affairs, James made his chief application; and he had promised the command of the troops destined for his service, to Lausun, whom Louvois hated. For these reasons this minister thwarted his measures, and retarded the assistance which Lewis had promised towards his restoration.

James arrives in Ireland.

Yet, notwithstanding all his opposition, the succours were prepared, and the fleet ready to put to sea by the latter end of February. The French king is said to have offered an army of fifteen thousand natives of France to serve in this expedition; but, James replied, that he would succeed by the help of his own subjects, or perish in the attempt.

attempt. Accordingly he contented himself with about twelve hundred British subjects * and a good number of French officers, who were embarked in the fleet at Brest, consisting of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, three fire-ships, with a good number of transports. The French king also supplied him with a considerable quantity of arms for the use of his adherents in Ireland; accommodated him with a large sum of money, superb equipages, store of plate, and necessaries of all kinds for the camp and the household. At parting, he presented him with his own cuirass, and embracing him affectionately, "The best thing I can wish you (said he) is that I may never see you again." On the seventh day of March James embarked at Brest, together with the count D'Avaux, who accompanied him in quality of ambassador, and his principal officers. He was detained in the harbour by contrary winds till the seventeenth day of the month, when he set sail, and on the twenty-second landed at Kinsale in Ireland. By this time, king William perceiving himself amused by Tyrconnel, had published a declaration, requiring the Irish to lay down their arms, and submit to the new government. On the twenty-second day of February, thirty ships of war had been put in commission, and the command of them conferred upon admiral Herbert; but, the arma-

* James in this expedition was attended by the duke of Berwick and Mr. Fitzjames grand prior, the duke of Powis, the earls of Dover, Melfort, Abercorn, and Seaforth; the lords Henry and Thomas Howard, the lords Drummond, Dungan, Trendraught, Buchan, Hunsdon, and Brittas; the bishops of Chester and Galway, the late lord chief-justice Herbert; the marquis d'Eftrades, Mr. de Rozen mar-echal de camp; Mamoo, Pufignan, and Lori, lieutenant-generals, Prontee engineer-general; the marquis de Al-

beville, Sir John Sparrow, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir William Jennings, Sir Henry Bond, Sir Charles Carney, Sir Edward Vaudrey, Sir Charles Murray, Sir Robert Parker, Sir Alphonso Maiolo, Sir Samuel Foxon, and Sir William Wallis; the colonels Porter, Sarsfield, Anthony and John Hamilton, Simon and Henry Lutterel, Ramsay, Dorrington, Sutherland, Clifford, Parker, Purcel, Cannon, and Fielding, with about two and twenty other officers of inferior rank.

ment

A. C. 1689. ment was retarded in such a manner by the disputes of the council, and the king's attention to the affairs of the continent, that the admiral was not in a condition to sail till the beginning of April, and then with part of his fleet only. James was received with open arms at Kinsale, and the whole country seemed to be at his devotion ; for, although the protestants in the North had declared for the new government, their strength and number was deemed inconsiderable when compared with the power of Tyrconnel, who had disarmed all the other protestant subjects in one day, and assembled an army of thirty thousand foot, and eight thousand cavalry for the service of his master.

Issues five
proclama-
tions at
Dublin.

In the latter end of March, James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the castle-gate by a procession of popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing the host, which he publicly adored. He dismissed from the council-board, the lord Granard, judge Keating, and other protestants, who had exhorted the lord-lieutenant to an accommodation with the new government. In their room he admitted the French ambassador, the bishop of Chester, colonel Dorrington, and, by degrees, the principal noblemen who accompanied him in the expedition. On the second day after his arrival in Dublin, he issued five proclamations : the first recalling all the subjects of Ireland who had abandoned the kingdom, by a certain time, on pain of outlawry and confiscation ; and requiring all persons to join him against the prince of Orange. The second contained expressions of acknowledgement to his catholic subjects for their vigilance and fidelity ; and an injunction to such as were not actually in his service, to retain and lay up their arms until it should be found necessary to use them for his advantage. By the third he invited the sub-
jects

jects to supply his army with provisions; and prohibited the soldiers to take any thing without payment. By the fourth he raised the value of the current coin. And in the fifth he summoned a parliament to meet on the seventh day of May at Dublin. Finally, he created Tyrconnel a duke, in consideration of his eminent services.

The adherents of James in England pressed him to settle the affairs of Ireland immediately, and bring over his army either to the north of England, or the west of Scotland, where it might be joined by his party, and act without delay against the usurper; but his council dissuaded him from complying with their solicitations, until Ireland should be totally reduced to obedience. On the first alarm of an intended massacre, the protestants of Londonderry had shut their gates against the regiment commanded by the earl of Antrim, and resolved to defend themselves against the lord-lieutenant. They transmitted this resolution to the government of England, together with an account of the danger they incurred by such a vigorous measure; and implored immediate assistance. They were accordingly supplied with some arms and ammunition; but, did not receive any considerable reinforcement till the middle of April, when two regiments arrived in Loughfoyl, under the command of Cunningham and Richards. By this time king James had taken Coleraine, invested Killmore, and was almost in sight of Londonderry. George Walker, rector of Donaghmore, who had raised a regiment for the defence of the protestants, conveyed this intelligence to Lundy the governor. This officer directed him to join colonel Grafton, and take post at the Long-causey, which he maintained a whole night against the advanced guard of the enemy, until being over-powered by numbers, he retreated to Londonderry, and exhorted the governor to take
the

A. C. 1689.

Siege of
Londonderry.

A. C. 1689.

the field, as the army of king James was not yet completely formed. Lundy assembling a council of war, at which Cunningham and Richards assisted, they agreed, that as the place was not tenable, it would be imprudent to land the two regiments; and that the principal officers should withdraw themselves from Londonderry, the inhabitants of which would obtain the more favourable capitulation in consequence of their retreat. An officer was immediately dispatched to king James, with proposals of a negotiation; and lieutenant-general Hamilton agreed, that the army should halt at the distance of four miles from the town. Notwithstanding this preliminary, James advanced at the head of his troops; but met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that he was fain to retire to St. John's town in some disorder. The inhabitants and soldiers in garrison at Londonderry were so incensed at the members of the council of war, who had resolved to abandon the place, that they threatened immediate vengeance. Cunningham and Richards retired to their ships; and Lundy locked himself in his chamber. In vain did Walker and major Baker exhort him to maintain his government. Such was his cowardice or treachery, that he absolutely refused to be concerned in the defence of the place; and he was suffered to escape in disguise, with a load of match upon his back: but, he was afterwards apprehended in Scotland, from whence he was sent to London, to answer for his perfidy or misconduct.

After his retreat, the townsmen chose Mr. Walker and major Baker for their governors, with joint authority; but this office they would not undertake, until it had been offered to colonel Cunningham as the officer next in command to Lundy. He rejected the proposal, and with Richards returned to England, where they were
imme-

immediately cashiered. The two new governors, thus abandoned to their fate, began to prepare for a vigorous defence; and indeed their courage seems to have transcended the bounds of discretion; for the place was very ill fortified; their cannon, which did not exceed twenty pieces, were wretchedly mounted; they had not one engineer to direct their operations; they had a very small number of horse; the garrison consisted of people unacquainted with military discipline; they were destitute of provisions; they were besieged by a king in person, at the head of a formidable army, directed by good officers, and supplied with all the necessary implements for a siege or battle. This town was invested on the twentieth day of April; the batteries were soon opened; and several attacks were made with great impetuosity: but, the besiegers were always repulsed with considerable loss. The townsmen gained divers advantages in repeated sallies; and would have held their enemies in the utmost contempt, had not they been afflicted with a contagious distemper, and reduced to extremity for want of provision. They were even tantalized in their distress; for, they had the mortification to see some ships which had arrived with supplies from England, prevented from sailing up the river by the batteries the enemy had raised on both sides, and a boom with which they had blocked up the channel. At length, a reinforcement arrived in the Lough, under the command of general Kirke, who had deserted his master and been employed in the service of king William. He found means to convey intelligence to Walker, that he had troops and provisions on board for their relief; but found it impracticable to sail up the river: he promised, however, that he would land a body of forces at the Inch, and endeavour to make a diversion in their favour, when joined by the troops at Inniskillen, which

A. C. 1689.
The inhabitants defend themselves with surprising courage and perseverance.

A. C. 1689. which amounted to five thousand men, including two thousand cavalry. He said he expected six thousand men from England, where they were embarked before he set sail. He exhorted them to persevere in their courage and loyalty, and assured them he would come to their relief at all hazards. These assurances enabled them to bear their miseries a little longer, though their numbers daily diminished; and major Baker dying, his place was filled with colonel Michelburn, who now acted as colleague to Mr. Walker.

Cruelty of
Rosene the
French ge-
neral.

King James having returned to Dublin to be present at the parliament, the command of his army devolved to the French general Rosene, who was exasperated at such an obstinate opposition by a handful of half-starved militia. He threatened to raze the town to its foundations, and destroy the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, unless they would immediately submit themselves to their lawful sovereign. The governors treated his menaces with contempt, and published an order, that no person, on pain of death, should talk of surrendering. They had now consumed the last remains of their provisions, and supported life by eating the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, rats, mice, tallow, starch, and salted hides; and even this loathsome food began to fail. Rosene, finding them deaf to all his proposals, threatened to wreak his vengeance on all the protestants of that country, and drive them under the walls of Londonderry, where they should be suffered to perish by famine. The bishop of Meath being informed of this design, complained to king James of the barbarous intention, intreating his majesty to prevent its being put in execution. That prince assured him that he had already ordered Rosene to desist from such proceedings. Nevertheless, he executed his threats with the utmost rigour. Parties of dra-
goons

goons were detached on this cruel service, and after having stripped all the protestants for thirty miles round, they drove those unhappy people before them like cattle; without even sparing the enfeebled old men, nurses with infants at their breasts, tender children, women just delivered, and some even in the pangs of labour. Above four thousand of these miserable objects were driven under the walls of Londonderry. This expedient, far from answering the purpose of Rosene, produced quite a contrary effect. The besieged were so exasperated at this act of inhumanity, that they resolved to perish rather than submit to such a barbarian. They erected a gibbet in sight of the enemy, and sent a message to the French general, importing, That they would hang all the prisoners they had taken during the siege, unless the protestants whom they had driven under the walls, should be immediately dismissed. This threat produced a negotiation, in consequence of which the protestants were released, after they had been detained three days without tasting food. Some hundreds died of famine or fatigue; and those who lived to return to their own habitations, found them plundered and sacked by the papists; so that the greater number perished for want, or were murdered by the straggling parties of the enemy: yet, those very people had for the most part obtained protections from king James, to which no respect was paid by his general.

The garrison of Londonderry was now reduced from seven to five thousand seven hundred men; and these were driven to such extremity of distress, that they began to talk of killing the popish inhabitants, and feeding on their bodies. In this emergency, Kirke, who had hitherto lain inactive, ordered two ships laden with provision to sail up the river, under convoy of the Dartmouth frigate. One

The place is
relieved by
Kirke.

of

A. C. 1689. of these, called the Mountjoy, broke the enemy's boom; and all the three, after having sustained a very hot fire from both sides of the river, arrived in safety at the town, to the inexpressible joy of the inhabitants. The army of James were so dispirited by the success of this enterprize, that they abandoned the siege in the night; and retired with precipitation, after having lost about nine thousand men before the place. Kirke no sooner took possession of the town, than Walker was prevailed upon to embark for England, with an address of thanks from the inhabitants to their majesties, for the seasonable relief they had received.

The Inniskilliners defeated and take general Maccarty.

The Inniskilliners were no less remarkable than the people of Londonderry for the valour and perseverance with which they opposed the papists. They raised twelve companies, which they regimented under the command of Gustavus Hamilton, whom they chose for their governor. They proclaimed William and Mary on the eleventh day of March, and resolved in a general council to maintain their title against all opposition. The lord Gilmoy invested the castle of Crom belonging to the protestants in the neighbourhood of Inniskillin, the inhabitants of which threw succours into the place, and compelled Gilmoy to retire to Belturbet. A detachment of the garrison, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Lloyd, took and demolished the castle of Aughor; and they gained the advantage in several skirmishes with the enemy. On the day that preceded the relief of Londonderry, they defeated six thousand Irish papists at a place called Newton-Butler, and took their commander Maccarty, commonly called lord Moncashel.

Meeting of the Irish parliament.

The Irish parliament being assembled at Dublin, according to the proclamation of king James, he, in a speech from the throne, thanked them for the zeal, courage, and loyalty they had manifested; extolled the

the generosity of the French king, who had enabled him to visit them in person; insisted upon executing his design of establishing liberty of conscience, as a step equally agreeable to the dictates of humanity and discretion; and promised to concur with them in enacting such laws as would contribute to the peace, affluence, and security of his subjects. Sir Richard Neagle being chosen speaker of the commons, moved for an address of thanks to his majesty; and that the count d'Avaux should be desired to make their acknowledgments to the most christian king, for the generous assistance he had given to their sovereign. These addresses being drawn up, with the concurrence of both houses, a bill was brought in to recognize the king's title, to express their abhorrence of the usurpation by the prince of Orange, as well as of the defection of the English. Next day James published a declaration, complaining of the calumnies which his enemies had spread to his prejudice; expatiating upon his own impartiality, in preferring his protestant subjects; his care in protecting them from their enemies, in redressing their grievances, and in granting liberty of conscience; promising that he would take no step but with the approbation of parliament; offering a free pardon to all persons who should desert his enemies, and join with him in four and twenty days after his landing in Ireland; and charging all the blood that might be shed upon those who should continue in rebellion.

His conduct, however, very ill agreed with this declaration: nor can it be excused on any other supposition but that of his being governed in some cases against his own inclination, by the count d'Avaux, and the Irish catholics, on whom his whole dependance was placed. As both houses were chiefly filled with members of that persuasion, we ought not to wonder at their bringing in a bill

They repeal
the rest of
settlement.

A. C. 1679. for repealing the act of settlement, by which the protestants of the kingdom had been secured in the possession of their estates. These were by this law divested of their lands, which reverted to the heirs of those catholics to whom they belonged before the rebellion. This iniquitous bill was framed in such a manner, that no regard was paid to such protestant owners as had purchased estates for valuable considerations: no allowance was made for improvements, nor any provision for protestant widows: the possessor and tenants were not even allowed to remove their stock and corn. When the bill was sent up to the lords, Dr. Dopping bishop of Meath opposed it with equal courage and ability; and an address in behalf of the purchasers under the act of settlement was presented to the king by the earl of Granard: but, notwithstanding these remonstrances, it received the royal assent; and the protestants of Ireland were mostly ruined.

Pass an act
of attainder
against ab-
sentees.

Yet, in order to complete their destruction, an act of attainder was passed against all protestants whether male or female, whether of high or low degree, who were absent from the kingdom, as well as against all those who retired into any part of the three kingdoms, which did not own the authority of king James, or corresponded with rebels, or were any ways aiding, abetting, or assisting to them from the first day of August in the preceding year. The number of protestants attainted by name in this act, amounted to about three thousand, including two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, as many bishops, eighteen barons, three and thirty baronets, one and fifty knights, eighty-three clergymen, who were declared traitors, and adjudged to suffer the pains of death and forfeiture. The individuals subjected to this dreadful proscription, were even cut off from

from all hope of pardon, and all benefit of appeal: A. C. 1689. for, by a clause in the act, the king's pardon was deemed null, unless enrolled before the first day of December; and a subsequent law was enacted, declaring Ireland independent of the English parliament. This assembly passed another act, granting twenty thousand pounds per annum, out of the forfeited estates, to Tyrconnel, in acknowledgment of his signal services: they imposed a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month for the service of the king: the royal assent was given to an act for liberty of conscience: they enacted that the tythes payable by papists should be delivered to priests of that communion; the maintenance of the protestant clergy in cities and corporations was taken away: and all dissenters were exempted from ecclesiastical jurisdictions. So that the established church was deprived of all power and prerogative; notwithstanding the express promise of James, who had declared immediately after his landing, that he would maintain the clergy in their rights and privileges.

Nor was the king less arbitrary in the executive part of his government, if we suppose that he countenanced the grievous acts of oppression that were daily committed upon the protestant subjects of Ireland: but the tyranny of his proceedings may be justly imputed to the temper of his ministry, consisting of men abandoned to all sense of justice and humanity, who acted from the dictates of rapacity and revenge, inflamed with all the acrimony of religious rancour. Soldiers were permitted to live upon free-quarter; the people were robbed and plundered; licences and protections were abused, in order to extort money from the trading part of the nation. The king's old stores were ransacked, the shops of tradesmen, and the kitchens of burghers, were pillaged to supply the mint with a quantity

James coins
base money.
The prote-
stants of Ire-
land cruelly
oppressed.

1689. city of brass, which was converted into current coin for his majesty's occasions. An arbitrary value was set upon it, and all persons were required and commanded to take it in payment, under the severest penalties, though the proportion between its intrinsic worth and currency was nearly as one to three hundred. A vast sum of this counterfeit coin was issued in the course of one year, and forced upon the protestants in payment of merchandize, provision, and necessaries for the king's service. James, not content with the supply granted by parliament, imposed by his own authority a tax of twenty thousand pounds per month on chattels, as the former was laid upon land. This seem'd to have been a temporary expedient, during the adjournment of the two houses, as the term of the assessment was limited to three months: it was, however, levied by virtue of a commission under the seals, and seems to have been a stretch of the prerogative the less excusable; as he might have obtained the money in a parliamentary way. Understanding that the protestants had laid out all their brass money in purchasing great quantities of hides, tallow, wool, and corn, he assumed the despotic power of fixing the prices of these commodities, and then bought them for his own use. One may see his ministers were bent upon the utter destruction of those unhappy people.

Their churches are seized by the catholics, and they are forbid to assemble, on pain of death.

All vacancies in public schools were supplied with popish teachers. The pension allowed from the exchequer to the university of Dublin was cut off: the vice-provost, fellows and scholars, were expelled: their furniture, plate, and public library, were seized, without the least shadow of pretence, and in direct violation of the king's promise to preserve their privileges and immunities. His officers converted the college into a garrison, the chapel into a magazine, and the apartments into prisons: a
 popish

popish priest was appointed provost; one Maccarty of the same persuasion was made library-keeper; and the whole foundation was changed into a catholic seminary. When bishoprics and benefices in the gift of the crown became vacant, the king ordered the profits to be lodged in the exchequer, and suffered the cures to be totally neglected. The revenues were chiefly employed in the maintenance of Romish bishops and priests, who grew so insolent under this indulgence, that in several places they forcibly seized the protestant churches. When complaint was made of this outrage, the king promised to do justice to the injured; and in some places actually ordered the churches to be restored: but the popish clergy refused to comply with his order, alledging, that in spirituals they owed obedience to no earthly power but the holy see; and James found himself unable to protect his protestant subjects against a powerful body which he durst not disoblige. Some ships appearing in the bay of Dublin, a proclamation was issued, forbidding the protestants to assemble in any place of worship, or elsewhere, on pain of death. By a second, they were commanded to bring in their arms, on pain of being treated as rebels and traitors. Lutterel, governor of Dublin, published an ordinance by beat of drum, requiring the farmers to bring in their corn for his majesty's horses within a certain day, otherwise he would order them to be hanged before their own doors. Brigadier Sarsfield commanded all protestants of a certain district to retire to the distance of ten miles from their habitations, on pain of death; and, in order to keep up the credit of the brass money, the same penalty was denounced, in a proclamation, against any person who should give more than one pound eighteen shillings for a guinea.

A. C. 1689.

Admiral
Herbert
wounded by
the French
fleet, in an
engagement
near Bantry
bay.

All the revenues of Ireland, and all the schemes contrived to bolster up the credit of this base coin, would have proved insufficient to support the expences of the war, had not James received occasional supplies from the French monarch. After the return of the fleet which had conveyed him to Ireland, Lewis sent another strong squadron, commanded by Chateau Renault, as a convoy to some transports laden with arms, ammunition, and a large sum of money for the use of king James. Before they sailed from Brest, king William being informed of their destination, detached admiral Herbert from Spithead, with twelve ships of the line, one fire-ship, and four tenders, in order to intercept the enemy. He was driven by stress of weather into Milford-haven, from whence he steered his course to Kinsale, on the supposition that the French fleet had sailed from Brest; and that in all probability he would fall in with them on the coast of Ireland. On the first day of May, he discovered them at anchor in Bantry bay, and stood in to engage them, though they were greatly superior to him in number. They no sooner perceived him at day-break, than they weighed, stood out to windward, formed their line, bore down and began the action, which was maintained for two hours with equal valour on both sides, though the English fleet sustained considerable damage from the superior fire of the enemy. Herbert tacked several times, in hope of gaining the weather-gage; but the French admiral kept his wind with uncommon skill and perseverance. At length the English squadron stood off to sea, and maintained a running fight till five in the afternoon, when Chateau Renault tacked about and returned into the bay, content with the honour he had gained. The loss of men was inconsiderable on both sides; and,

and, where the odds were so great, the victor could not reap much glory. Herbert retired to the isles of Scilly, where he expected a reinforcement; but being disappointed in this expectation, he returned to Portsmouth, in very ill humour, with which his officers and men were infected. The common sailors still retained some attachment to James, who had formerly been a favourite among them; and the officers complained that they had been sent upon this service with a force so much inferior to that of the enemy. King William, in order to appease their discontent, made an excursion to Portsmouth, where he dined with the admiral on board the ship Elizabeth, declared his intention of creating him an earl, in consideration of his good conduct and services, conferred the honour of knighthood on the captains Ashby and Shovel, and bestowed a donation of ten shillings on every private sailor.

Burnet.
Reresby.
King.
Belcarres.
De la Fayette.
Voltaire.

The parliament of England thought it incumbent upon them, not only to raise supplies for the maintenance of the war in which the nation was involved, but also to do justice with respect to those who had been injured by illegal or oppressive sentences in the late reigns. The attainders of lord Ruffel, Algernoon Sidney, alderman Cornish, and the lady Lisle, were now reversed. A committee of privileges was appointed by the lords, to examine the case of the earl of Devonshire, who in the late reign had been fined in thirty thousand pounds for assaulting colonel Culpepper in the presence-chamber. They reported that the court of king's-bench, in over-ruling the earl's plea of privilege of parliament, had committed a manifest breach of privilege: that the fine was excessive and exorbitant, against the great charter, the common right of the subject, and the law of the realm. The sentence pronounced upon Samuel Johnson, chaplain to lord Ruffel, in consequence of which he had

Divers sentences and attainders reversed in parliament.

4. C. 1589. been degraded, fined, scourged, and set in the pillory, was now annulled, and the commons recommended him to his majesty for some ecclesiastical preferment. He received one thousand pounds in money, with a pension of three hundred pounds for his own life and that of his son, who was moreover gratified with a place of one hundred pounds a year; but the father never obtained any ecclesiastical benefice. Titus Oates seized this opportunity of petitioning the house of lords for a reversal of the judgment given against him on his being convicted of perjury. The opinions of all the judges and counsel at the bar were heard on this subject, and a bill of reversal passed the commons; but the peers having inserted some amendments and a proviso, a conference was demanded, and violent heats ensued. Oates, however, was released from confinement; and the lords, with the consent of the commons, recommended him to his majesty for a pardon, which he obtained, together with a comfortable pension. The committee appointed to enquire into the cases of the state-prisoners, found Sir Robert Wright, late lord chief-justice, to have been concerned in the cruelties committed in the West after the insurrection of Monmouth; as also one of the ecclesiastical commissioners, and guilty of manifold enormities. Death had by this time delivered Jeffries from the resentment of the nation. Graham and Burton, who had acted as solicitors in the illegal prosecutions carried on against those who opposed the court in the reign of king Charles II. were reported guilty of having been instrumental in taking away the lives and estates of those who had suffered the loss of either, under colour of law, for eight years last past; of having, by malicious indictments, informations, and prosecutions of Quo Warranto, endeavoured the subversion of the protestant religion, and the govern-
ment

ment of the realm, and of having wasted many thousand pounds of the public revenue in the course of these infamous practices. A. C. 1689.

Nor did the misconduct of the present ministry escape the animadversion of the parliament. The lords having addressed the king to put the isle of Wight, Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, Dover-castle, and the other fortresses of the kingdom, in a posture of defence, and to disarm the papists, empowered a committee to enquire into the miscarriages in Ireland, which were generally imputed to the neglect of the marquises of Carmarthen and Halifax. They presented an address to the king, desiring the minute book of the committee for Irish affairs might be put into their hands; but his majesty declined gratifying them in this particular: then the commons voted, that those persons who had advised the king to delay this satisfaction were enemies to the kingdom. William, alarmed at this resolution, allowed them to inspect the book, in which they found very little for their purpose. The house resolved that an address should be presented to his majesty, declaring that the succour of Ireland had been retarded by unnecessary delays; that the transports prepared were not sufficient to convey the forces to that kingdom; and that several ships had been taken by the enemy, for want of proper convoy. At the same time the question was put, Whether or not they should address the king against the marquis of Halifax? But it was carried in the negative by a small majority. Before this period, Howe, vice-chamberlain to the queen, had moved for an address against such counsellors as had been impeached in parliament, and betrayed the liberties of the nation. This motion was levelled at Carmarthen and Halifax, the first of whom had been formerly impeached of high-treason, under the title of earl of Danby; and the other was charged

A. C. 1689. changed with all the misconduct of the present administration. Warm debates ensued, and in all probability the motion would have been carried in the affirmative, had not those who spoke warmly in behalf of it, suddenly cooled in the course of the dispute. Some letters from king James to his partisans being intercepted, and containing some hints of an intended invasion, Mr. Hambden, chairman of the committee of the whole house, enlarged upon the imminent danger to which the kingdom was exposed, and moved for a further supply to his majesty. In this unexpected motion he was not seconded by one member. The house, however, having taken the letters into consideration, resolved to draw up an address to the king, desiring him to secure and disarm all papists of note; and they brought in a bill for attainting several persons in rebellion against their majesties; but it was not finished during this session.

Bills passed
in this session
of parliament.

Another bill being prepared in the house of lords, enjoining the subjects to wear the woollen manufacture at certain seasons of the year, a petition was presented against it by the silk-weavers of London and Canterbury, assembled in a tumultuous manner at Westminster. The lords refused their petition, because this was an unusual manner of application. They were persuaded to return to their respective places of abode: precautions were taken against a second riot, and the bill was unanimously rejected in the upper house. This parliament passed an act, vesting the presentations belonging to papists in the two universities; those of the southern counties being given to Oxford; and those of the northern to Cambridge, on certain specified conditions. Courts of conscience were erected at Bristol, Gloucester, and Newcastle; and that of the Marches of Wales was abolished, as an intolerable oppression on that country. The protestant clergymen
who

who had been forced to leave their benefices in Ireland, were rendered capable of holding any living in England, without forfeiting their title to their former preferment, with the proviso that they should resign their English benefices when restored to those they had been obliged to relinquish. The statute of Henry IV. against multiplying gold and silver was now repealed: the subjects were allowed to melt and refine metals and ores, and extract gold and silver from them, on condition that it should be brought to the Mint and converted into money, the owners receiving its full value in current coin. These and several other bills of smaller importance being passed, the two houses adjourned to the twentieth day of September, and afterwards to the nineteenth day of October.

Though the affairs of Ireland were extremely pressing, and the protestants of that country had made repeated application for relief, the succours were retarded either by the disputes among the ministers, or the neglect of those who had the management of the expedition, in such a manner, that king James had been six months in Ireland before the army was embarked for that kingdom. At length, eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of dragoons being raised for that service, a train of artillery provided, and transports prepared, the duke of Schomberg, on whom king William had conferred the chief command of this armament, set out for Chester, after he had in person thanked the commons for the uncommon regard they had payed to his services; and received assurances from the house, that they would pay particular attention to him and his army. On the thirteenth day of August he landed in the neighbourhood of Carrick-fergus with about ten thousand foot and dragoons, and took possession of Belfast, from whence the enemy retired at his approach to Carrick-fergus,

Duke of Schomberg lands with an army in Ireland.

A. C. 1689.

gus, where they resolved to make a stand. The duke having refreshed his men, marched thither and invested the place: the siege was carried on till the twenty-sixth day of the month, when the breaches being practicable, the besieged capitulated, on condition of marching out with their arms and as much baggage as they could carry on their backs; and of their being conducted to the next Irish garrison, which was at Newry. During this siege the duke was joined by the rest of his army from England; but, he had left orders for conveying the greater part of the artillery and stores from Chester directly to Carlingford. He now began his march through Lisburne and Hillsborough; encamped at Drummore, where the protestants of the North had been lately routed by Hamilton; thence he proceeded to Loughbrillane, where he was joined by the horse and dragoons of Inniskillin. Then the enemy abandoned Newry and Dundalk, in the neighbourhood of which Schomberg encamped on a low, damp ground, having the town and river on the south, and surrounded on every other part by hills, bogs, and mountains.

The Inniskilliners obtain a victory over the Irish.

His army consisting chiefly of new-raised men little inured to hardship, began to flag under the fatigue of marching, the inclemency of the weather, and scarcity of provision. Here he was reinforced by the regiments of Kirke, Hanmer, and Stuart; and would have continued his march to Drogheda, where he understood Rosene lay with about twenty thousand men; had not he been obliged to wait for the artillery, which was not yet arrived at Carlingford. King James having assembled all his forces, advanced towards Schomberg, and appeared before his intrenchments in order of battle; but, the duke knowing they were greatly

greatly superior in number of horse, and that his own army was undisciplined, and weakened by death and sickness, restrained his men within the lines; and in a little time the enemy retreated. Immediately after their departure, a conspiracy was discovered in the English camp, hatched by some French papists, who had insinuated themselves into the protestant regiments. One of these, whose name was Du Plessis, had written a letter to the ambassador d'Avaux, promising to desert with all the papists of the three French regiments in Schomberg's army. This letter being found, Du Plessis and five accomplices were tried by a court-martial, and executed. About two hundred and fifty papists being discovered in the French regiments, they were sent over to England, and from thence to Holland. While Schomberg remained in this situation, the Inniskilliners made excursions in the neighbourhood, under the command of colonel Lloyd; and on the twenty-seventh day of September, they obtained a complete victory over five times their number of the Irish; having killed seven hundred on the spot, and taken O Kelly their commander, with about fifty officers, and a considerable booty of cattle. The duke was so pleased with their behaviour on this occasion, that they received a very honourable testimony of his approbation.

Mean while the enemy took possession of James-Town, and reduced Sligo, one of the forts of which was gallantly defended by St. Sauveur, a French captain, and his company of grenadiers, until he was obliged to capitulate for want of water and provision. A contagious distemper still continued to rage in Schomberg's camp, and swept off a great number of officers and soldiers; so that in the beginning of next spring, not above half the number of those who went over with the general remained alive. He was censured for his inactivity;

Schomberg
censured for
his inactivity.

A. C. 1689.

vity; and the king in repeated letters desired him to hazard an engagement, provided any opportunity should occur: but, he did not think proper to run the risque of a battle, against an enemy that was above thrice his number, well-disciplined, healthy, and conducted by able officers. Nevertheless, he was certainly blameable for having chosen such an unwholesome situation; from whence, at the approach of winter, he retired into quarters, in hope of being reinforced with seven thousand Danes, who had already arrived in Britain. These auxiliaries were stipulated in a treaty which William had just concluded with the king of Denmark: The English were not more successful at sea than they had proved in their operations by land. Admiral Herbert, now created earl of Torrington, having sailed to Ireland with the combined squadrons of England and Holland, made a fruitless attempt upon Cork; and lost a great number of seamen by sickness, which was imputed to bad provision. The Dartmouth ship of war fell into the hands of the enemy, who infested the channel with such a number of armed ships and privateers, that the trade of England sustained incredible damage.

The French
worsted at
Walcourt.

The affairs of France wore but a gloomy aspect on the continent, where all the powers of Europe seemed to have conspired her destruction. King William had engaged in a new league with the states-general, in which former treaties of peace and commerce were confirmed. It was stipulated, that in case the king of Great-Britain should be attacked, the Dutch should assist him with six thousand infantry, and twenty ships of the line; and that, provided hostilities should be committed against the states-general, England should supply them with ten thousand infantry, and twenty ships of war. This treaty was no sooner ratified than king William dispatched the lord Churchill, whom he

had by this time created earl of Marlborough, to Holland, in order to command the British auxiliaries in that service, to the number of eleven thousand, the greater part of which had been in the army of king James when the prince of Orange landed in England. He forthwith joined the Dutch army under the command of prince Waldec, who had fixed his rendezvous in the county of Liege, with a view to act against the French army commanded by the marechal D'Humieres, while the prince of Vaudemont headed a little army of observation, consisting of Spaniards, Dutch, and Germans, to watch the motions of Calvo in another part of the Low-Countries. The city of Liege was compelled to renounce the neutrality and declare for the allies. Marechal D'Humieres attacked the foragers belonging to the army of the states at Walcourt, in the month of August, an obstinate engagement ensued, and the French were obliged to retreat in confusion, with the loss of two thousand men, and some pieces of artillery. The army of observation levelled part of the French lines on the side of Courtray, and raised contributions on the territories of the enemy.

The French were almost intire masters of the three ecclesiastical electorates of Germany. They possessed Mentz, Triers, Bonne, Keiserwaert, Philipburgh, and Landau. They had blown up the castle of Heidelberg in the Palatinate; and destroyed Manheim. They had reduced Worms and Spire to ashes; and demolished Frankendahl, together with several other fortresses. These conquests, the fruits of sudden invasion, were covered with a numerous army, commanded by the marechal de Duras; and all his inferior generals were officers of distinguished courage and ability. Nevertheless, he found it difficult to maintain his ground

Success of the confederates in Germany. The Turks defeated at Patochin, Nissa, and Widia.

a. c. 1669 ground against the different princes of the empire. The duke of Lorraine, who commanded the imperial troops, invested Mentz, and took it by capitulation: the elector of Brandenburg having reduced Keiserwaert, undertook the siege of Bonne, which the garrison surrendered, after having made a long and vigorous defence. Nothing contributed more to the union of the German princes than their resentment of the shocking barbarity with which the French had plundered, wasted, and depopulated their country. Lewis having by his intrigues in Poland, and at Constantinople, prevented a pacification between the emperor and the Ottoman-porté, the campaign was opened in Croatia, where five thousand Turks were defeated by a body of Croats between Vihitz and Novi. The prince of Baden, who commanded the Imperialists on that side, having thrown a bridge over the Morava at Passarowitz, crossed that river, and marched in quest of the Turkish army, amounting to fifty thousand men, headed by a seraskier. On the thirtieth day of August he attacked the enemy in their entrenchments near Patochin, forced their lines, routed them with great slaughter, and took possession of their camp, baggage, and artillery. They retreated to Nissa, where their general finding them still more numerous than the Imperialists, resolved to make a stand; and encamped in a situation that was inaccessible in every part except the rear, which he left open for the convenience of a retreat. Through this avenue he was, on the twenty-fourth day of September, attacked by the prince of Baden, who, after a desperate resistance, obtained another complete victory, enriched his troops with the spoils of the enemy, and entered Nissa without opposition. There he found above three thousand horses, and a vast quantity of provision. Having reposed

reposed his army for a few days in this place, he resumed his march against the Turks, who had chosen an advantageous post at Widin, and seemed ambitious of retrieving the honour they had lost in the two former engagements. The Germans attacked their lines without hesitation; and though the Mussulmans fought with incredible fury, they were a third time defeated with great slaughter. This defeat was attended with the loss of Widin, which being surrendered to the victor, he distributed his troops in winter quarters, and returned to Vienna covered with laurels.

The French were likewise baffled in their attempt upon Catalonia, where the duke de Noailles had taken Campredon, in the month of May. Leaving a garrison in this place, he retreated to the frontiers of France, while the duke de Villa-Hermosa, at the head of a Spanish army, blocked up the place, and laid Rouffillon under contribution. He afterwards undertook the siege in form, and Noailles marched to its relief; but, he was so hard pressed by the Spaniards, that he withdrew the garrison, dismantled the place, and retreated with great precipitation. The French king hoped to derive some considerable advantage from the death of pope Innocent XI. which happened on the twelfth day of August. That pontiff had been an inveterate enemy to Lewis ever since the affair of the franchises, and the seizure of Avignon. Cabals were immediately formed at Rome by the French faction against the Spanish and Imperial interest. The French cardinals de Bouillon and Bonzi, accompanied by Furstemberg, repaired to Rome with a large sum of money. Peter Ottoboni, a Venetian, was elected pope, and assumed the name of Alexander VIII. The duke de Chaulnes ambassador from France, immediately signified, in the name of his master, that Avignon should be re-

Death of
pope Inno-
cent XI.

A. C. 1689. stored to the patrimony of the church; and Lewis renounced the franchises in a letter written by his own hand to the new pontiff. Alexander received these marks of respect with the warmest acknowledgments; but, when the ambassador and Furstemberg besought him to re-examine the election of the bishop of Cologne, which had been the source of so much calamity to the empire, he lent a deaf ear to their solicitations. He even confirmed the dispensations granted by his predecessor to the prince of Bavaria, who was thus impowered to take possession of the electorate, though he had not yet attained the age required by the canons. Furstemberg retired in disgust to Paris, where Lewis immediately gratified him with the abbey of St. Germain.

King William becomes unpopular.

King William found it an easier task to unite the councils of Europe against the common enemy, than to conciliate and preserve the affections of his own subjects, among whom he began visibly to decline in point of popularity. Many were dissatisfied with his measures; and a great number even of those who had exerted themselves for his elevation, had conceived a disgust from his personal deportment, which was very unfavourable to the manners and disposition of the English people. Instead of mingling with his nobility in social amusements and familiar conversation, he maintained a disagreeable reserve, which had all the air of sullen pride; he seldom or never spoke to his courtiers or attendants; he spent his time chiefly in the closet retired from all communication; or among his troops in a camp he had formed at Hounslow; or in the exercise of hunting, to which he was immoderately addicted. This had been prescribed to him by physicians, as necessary to improve his constitution, which was naturally weak; and by practice had become so habitual that he could not lay it aside.

His

His ill health co-operating with his natural aversion to society, produced a peevishness which could not fail of being displeasing to those who were near his person; and this was increased by the disputes in his cabinet, and the opposition of those who were professed enemies to his government, as well as by the alienation of his former friends. As he could not breathe without difficulty in the air of London, he resided chiefly at Hampton-Court, and expended considerable sums in beautifying and enlarging that palace; he likewise purchased the house at Kenfington of the earl of Nottingham; and such profusion, in the beginning of an expensive war, gave umbrage to the nation in general. Whether he was advised by his counsellors, or his own sagacity pointed out the expediency of conforming with the English humour, he now seemed to change his disposition, and in some measure adopt the manners of his predecessors. In imitation of Charles II. he resorted to the races at Newmarket; he accepted an invitation to visit Cambridge, where he behaved with remarkable affability to the members of the university; he afterwards dined with the lord-mayor of London, accepted the freedom of the city, and condescended so far as to become sovereign-master of the company of grocers.

While William thus endeavoured to remove the prejudices which had been conceived against his person, the period arrived which the parliament had prescribed for taking the oaths to the new government. Some individuals of the clergy sacrificed their benefices to their scruples of conscience, and absolutely refused to take oaths that were contrary to those they had already sworn in favour of their late sovereign. These were distinguished by the epithet of Nonjurors; but their number bore a very small proportion to that of others, who took them with such reservations and distinctions as re-

A good number of the clergy refuse to take the oaths.

A. C. 1689. dounded very little to the honour of their integrity. Many of those who had been the warmest advocates for non-resistance and passive obedience, made no scruple of renouncing their allegiance to king James, and complying with the present act, after having declared that they took the oaths in no other sense than that of a peaceable submission to the powers that were. They even affirmed that the legislature itself had allowed the distinction between a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*, as they had dropped the word "rightful" when the form was under debate. They alledged that as prudence obliged them to conform to the letter of the oath, so conscience required them to give it their own interpretation. Nothing could be more infamous, and of worse tendency, than this practice of equivocating in the most sacred of all obligations. It introduced a general disregard of oaths, which hath been the source of universal perjury and corruption. Tho' this set of temporisers were bitterly upbraided both by the nonjurors and the papists, they all concurred in representing William as an enemy to the church; as a prince educated in the doctrines of Calvin, which he plainly espoused by limiting his favour and preferment to such as were latitudinarians in religion, and by his abolishing episcopacy in Scotland. The presbyterians of that kingdom now tyrannized in their turn. They were headed by the earl of Crawford, a nobleman of a violent temper and strong prejudices. He was chosen president of the parliament by the interest of Melvil, and oppressed the episcopalians in such a manner, that the greater part of them, from resentment, became well-wishers to king James. Every circumstance of the hardships they underwent, was reported in England; and the earl of Clarendon, as well as the suspended bishops, circulated these

particulars with great assiduity. The oaths being rejected by the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Gloucester, they were suspended from their functions, and threatened with deprivation. Lake of Chichester being seized with a dangerous distemper, signed a solemn declaration, to which he professed his adherence to the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which he believed to be the distinguishing characteristic of the church of England. After his death this paper was published, industriously circulated, and extolled by the party, as an inspired oracle pronounced by a martyr to religious truth and sincerity.

All the clamour that was raised against the king could not divert him from prosecuting the scheme of comprehension. He granted a commission under the great seal to ten bishops, and twenty dignitaries of the church, authorising them to meet from time to time in the Jerusalem-chamber, to prepare such alteration of the liturgy and the canons, and such proposals for the reformation of ecclesiastical courts, as might most conduce to the good order, edification, and uniting of the church, and tend to reconcile all religious differences among the protestant subjects of the kingdom. A cry was immediately raised against this commission, as an ecclesiastical-court illegal and dangerous. At their first meeting, the authority of the commission was questioned by Sprat, bishop of Rochester, who retired in disgust, and was followed by Mew of Winchester, and the doctors Jane and Aldrich. These were averse to any alteration of the forms and constitution of the church, in favour of an insolent and obstinate party, which ought to have been satisfied with the toleration they enjoyed. They observed, that an attempt to make such alter-

The king grants a commission for reforming church discipline.

A.C. 1689 ration would divide the clergy, and bring the liturgy into disesteem with the people, at it would be a plain acknowledgment that it wanted correction. They thought they should violate the dignity of the church, by condescending to make offers which the dissenters were at liberty to refuse; and they suspected some of their colleagues of a design to give up episcopal ordination; a step inconsistent with their honour, duty, oaths, and subscriptions.

Meeting of
the convo-
cation.

The commissioners, notwithstanding this secession, proceeded to debate with moderation on the abuses of which the dissenters had complained, and corrected every article that seemed liable to any just objection: but the opposite party employed all their art and industry to enflame the minds of the people: the two universities declared against all alterations, and those who promoted them: the king himself was branded as an enemy to the hierarchy; and they bestirred themselves so successfully in the election of members for the convocation, that they procured a very considerable majority. At their first meeting, the friends of the comprehension scheme proposed Dr. Tillotson clerk of the closet to his majesty as prolocutor; but the other party carried it in favour of Dr. Jane, who was counted the most violent churchman in the whole assembly. In a Latin speech to the bishop of London as president, he, in the name of the lower house, asserted, that the liturgy of England needed no amendment, and concluded with the old declaration of the barons, "Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari." We will not suffer the laws of England to be changed. The bishop, in his reply, exhorted them to moderation, charity, and indulgence, towards their brethren the dissenters; and to make such abatements in things indifferent as might serve to open a door of salvation to multitudes of straying christians.

christians. His injunctions, however, produced no favourable effect. The lower house seemed to be animated by a spirit of opposition; and next day the president prorogued them, on pretence that the royal commission by which they were to act was defective, for want of being sealed; and that a prorogation was necessary, until that sanction should be obtained. In this interval, means were used to mollify their noncompliant tempers; but all endeavours proved ineffectual. When they met again, the earl of Nottingham delivered the king's commission to both houses, with a speech of his own, and a message from his majesty, importing, that he had summoned them out of a pious zeal to do every thing that might tend to the best establishment of the church of England, which should always enjoy his favour and protection. He exhorted them to lay aside all prejudice; to consider calmly and impartially whatever should be proposed; he assured them he would offer nothing but what should be for the honour, peace, and advantage of the protestant religion in general, and particularly of the church of England.

The bishops adjourning to the Jerusalem-chamber, prepared a zealous address of thanks to his majesty, which being sent to the lower house for their concurrence, met with violent opposition. Amendments were proposed, a conference ensued, and, after warm debates, they agreed upon a cold address, which was accordingly presented. The majority of the lower house, far from taking any measures in favour of dissenters, converted all their attention to the relief of their nonjuring brethren. Zealous speeches were made in behalf of the suspended bishops; and Dr. Jane proposed that something might be done to qualify them to sit in the convocation. This, however, was such a dangerous point as they would not venture to discuss.

Their session discontinued by repeated prorogations.

A. C. 1689. Yet, rather than proceed upon the business for which they had been assembled, they began to take cognizance of some pamphlets lately published, which they conceived to be of dangerous consequence to the christian religion. The president and his party perceiving the disposition of the house, did not think proper to communicate any proposal touching the intended reformation; and the king suffered the session to be discontinued by repeated prorogations.

Proceedings
in parlia-
ment.

The parliament meeting on the nineteenth day of October, the king, in a speech of his own composing, explained the necessity of a present supply to carry on the war; desired that they might be speedy in their determinations on this subject; for these would in a great measure influence the deliberations of the princes and states concerned in the war against France, as a general meeting of them was appointed to be held next month at the Hague, to settle the operations of the ensuing campaign. He concluded with recommending the dispatch of a bill of indemnity, that the minds of his subjects might be quieted; and that they might unanimously concur in promoting the honour and welfare of the kingdom. As several inflammatory bills and disputes, which had produced heats and animosities in the last session, were still depending, the king, after having consulted both houses, resolved to put an end to those disputes by a prorogation. He accordingly went to the house of lords, and prorogued the parliament till the twenty-first day of October, by the mouth of the new speaker Sir Robert Atkins, the marquis of Halifax having resigned that office. When they reassembled, the king referred them to his former speech; then the commons unanimously resolved to assist his majesty in reducing Ireland, and in joining with his allies abroad for a vigorous pro-

prosecution of the war against France: for these purposes they voted a supply of two millions. A. C. 1689-

During this session the Whigs employed all their influence and intrigues in obstructing the bill of indemnity, which they knew would open a door for favour and preferment to the opposite party, which began to gain ground in the king's good graces. With this view they revived the prosecution of the state-prisoners. A committee was appointed to prepare a charge against Burton and Graham. The commons resolved to impeach the earls of Peterborough, Salisbury, and Castlemain, Sir Edward Hales, and Obadiah Walker, of high treason, for having been reconciled to the church of Rome, contrary to the laws of the realm. A bill was ordered to be brought in to declare the estate of the late lord chancellor Jeffries forfeited to the crown, and attain his blood; but it met with such opposition that the measure was dropped; the house however agreed, that the pecuniary penalties incurred by those persons who had exercised offices contrary to the laws against popish recusants, should be speedily levied, and applied to the public service. The lord Griffin being detected in maintaining a correspondence with king James and his partisans, was committed to the Tower; but as no other evidence appeared against him than written letters, found in the false bottom of a pewter bottle, they could not help consenting to his being released upon bail, as they had lately resolved that Algernon Sidney had been unjustly condemned, because nothing but writings had been produced against him at his trial. The two houses concurred in appointing a committee to enquire who were advisers and prosecutors in taking away the lives of lord Ruffel, colonel Sydney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, alderman Cornish, and others; and who were chiefly concerned in the arbitrary prac-

The Whigs
obstruct the
bill of in-
demnity.

A. C. 1689. practices touching the writs of Quo Warranto, and the surrender of charters. This inquiry was levell'd at the marquis of Halifax, who had concurred with the ministry of Charles in all those severities; and, though no proof appeared upon which votes or addresses, could be founded, that nobleman saw it was necessary for him to withdraw himself from the administration. He therefore resigned the privy-seal, which was put in commission, and reconciled himself to the Tories, of whom he became the patron and protector.

The commons resume the inquiry into the cause of the miscarriages in Ireland.

The commons likewise resumed the examination of the miscarriages in Ireland; and desired the king would appoint commissioners to go over and enquire into the condition of the army in that kingdom. Schomberg understanding that he had been blamed in the house of commons for his inactivity, transmitted to the king a satisfactory vindication of his own conduct; and it appeared that the miscarriages in Ireland were wholly owing to John Shales, purveyor-general to the army. The commons immediately presented an address to his majesty, praying that Shales might be taken into custody; that all his papers, accounts, and stores, should be secured; and that duke Schomberg might be empowered to fill his place with a more able purveyor. The king gave them to understand, that he had already sent orders to the general for that purpose. Nevertheless, they in another petition requested his majesty to name those who had recommended Shales to his service, as he had exercised the same office under king James, and was suspected of treasonable practices against the government. William declined gratifying their request; but he afterwards sent a message to the house, desiring them to recommend a certain number of commissioners to superintend such provisions and preparations as might be necessary for that service;

vice; as well as to nominate certain persons to go over and examine the state of the army in Ireland. The commons were so mollified by this instance of his condescension, that they left the whole affair to his own direction, and proceeded to examine other branches of misconduct. Instances of mismanagement appeared so numerous and so flagrant, that they resolved upon a subsequent address, to explain the ill conduct and success of his army and navy; to desire he would find out the authors of these miscarriages, and for the future entrust unsuspected persons with the management of affairs. They ordered the victuallers of the fleet to be taken into custody, on suspicion of having furnished the navy with unwholesome provisions, and new commissioners were appointed. Bitter reproaches were thrown out against the ministry; Mr. Hambden expressed his surprize that the administration should consist of those very persons whom king James had employed when his affairs were desperate, to treat with the prince of Orange; and moved that the king should be petitioned in an address to remove such persons from his presence and councils. This was a stroke aimed at the earl of Nottingham, whose office of secretary Hambden desired to possess: but his motion was not seconded, the court-members observing that James did not depute those lords to the prince of Orange because they were attached to his own interest, but for a very different reason, namely, that they were well known to disapprove of his measures; and therefore would be the more agreeable to his highness. The house, however, voted an address to the king, desiring that the authors of the miscarriages might be brought to condign punishment.

In the sequel, the question was proposed, Whether a placeman ought to have a seat in the house?

And

A. C. 1689.

King William irritated against the Whigs.

And a very warm debate ensued; but it was carried in the affirmative, on the supposition that by such exclusion the commonwealth would be deprived of some of the ablest senators of the kingdom. But what chiefly irritated William against the Whigs, was their backwardness in promoting the public service; and their disregard of the earnest desire he expressed to see his revenue settled for life. He said his title was no more than a pageant; and the worst of all governments was that of a king without treasure. Nevertheless, they would not grant the civil list for a longer term than one year. They began to think there was something arbitrary in his disposition. His sullen behaviour in all probability first infused this opinion, which was strengthened and confirmed by the insinuations of his enemies. The Scots, who had come up to London to give an account of the proceedings in their parliament, were infected with the same notion. One Simpson, a presbyterian of that country, whom the earl of Portland employed as a spy, had insinuated himself into the confidence of Nevil Payne, an active and intelligent partisan, and agent of king James; by which means he supplied the earl with such intelligence as raised him to some degree of credit with that minister. This he used in prepossessing the earl against the king's best friends, and infusing jealousies which were soon kindled into mutual distrust and animosity.

Plot against the government by Sir James Montgomery, discovered by bishop Burnett.

Sir James Montgomery, who had been a warm advocate for the revolution, received advice that the court suspected him and others of disaffection, and was employed in seeking evidence by which they might be prosecuted. They were equally alarmed and incensed at this intimation, and Payne seized the opportunity of seducing them into a correspondence with the exiled king. They demanded the settlement of presbytery in Scotland, and

and actually engaged in a treaty for his restoration. A. C. 1688.
They reconciled themselves to the duke of Queensberry, and the other noblemen of the episcopal party: they wrote to James for a supply of money, arms, and ammunition, together with a reinforcement of three thousand men from Dunkirk. Montgomery had acquired great interest among the Whigs of England, and this he employed in animating them against the king and the ministry. He represented them as a set of wicked men, who employed infamous spies to insnare and ruin the fast friends of the government; and found means to alienate them so much from William, that they began to think in earnest of recalling their banished prince. The duke of Bolton and the earl of Monmouth were almost persuaded into a conspiracy for this purpose: they seemed to think James was now so well convinced of his former errors, that they might trust him without scruple. Montgomery and Payne were the chief managers of the scheme; and they admitted Ferguson into their councils, as a veteran in the arts of treason. In order to blast William's credit in the city, they circulated a report that James would grant a full indemnity, separate himself entirely from the French interest, and be contented with a secret connivance in favour of the Roman catholics. Montgomery's brother assured the bishop of Salisbury, that a treaty with king James was absolutely concluded, and an invitation subscribed by the whole cabal. He said this paper would be sent to Ireland by the way of France, as the direct communication was difficult; and he proposed a method for seizing it before it should be conveyed out of the kingdom. Williamson, the supposed bearer of it, had obtained a pass for Flanders; and a messenger being sent in pursuit of him, secured his cloaths and portmantau; but, after a very strict examination, nothing appeared

A. C. 1689. appeared to justify the intelligence. Williamson had previously delivered the papers to Simpson, who hired a boat at Deal, and arrived in safety at France. He returned with large assurances, and twelve thousand pounds were remitted to the Scottish undertakers. Montgomery the informer, seeing his intelligence falsified, lost his credit with the bishop, and dreading the resentment of the other party, retired to the continent. The conspirators loudly complained of the false imputations they had incurred. The pretended discoveries were looked upon as fictions of the ministry, and the king on this occasion suffered greatly in the opinion of his subjects.

Warm debates in parliament about the corporation-bill.

The Tories still continued to carry on a secret negotiation with the court. They took advantage of the ill humour subsisting between the king and the Whigs; and promised large supplies of money, provided this parliament should be dissolved, and another immediately convoked. The opposite party being apprised of their intention, brought a bill into the house of commons for restoring corporations to their antient rights and privileges. They knew their own strength at elections consisted in these corporations; and they inserted two additional severe clauses against those who were in any shape concerned in surrendering charters. The whole power of the Tories was exerted against this clause; and now the Whigs vied with them in making court to his majesty, promising to manifest the most submissive obedience should this bill be enacted into a law. The strength of the Tories was now become so formidable in the house, that they outvoted the other party, and the clauses were rejected; but the bill passed in its original form. The lords debated upon the point, Whether a corporation could be forfeited or surrendered? Lord chief justice Holt, and two other judges declared their opinion

tion in the affirmative: the rest thought otherwise, as no precedents could be produced farther back than the reign of Henry VIII. when the abbeys were surrendered; and this instance seemed too violent to authorise such a measure in a regular course of administration. The bill, however, passed by one voice only. Then both parties quickened their applications to the king, who found himself so perplexed and distracted between two factions which he equally feared, that he resolved to leave the government in the queen's hands, and retire to Holland. He communicated this design to the marquis of Carmaerthen, the earl of Shrewsbury, and some other noblemen, who pressed him to lay aside this resolution, and even mingled tears in their remonstrances.

He at length complied with their request, and determined to finish the Irish war in person. This design was far from being agreeable to the parliament. His friends dreaded the climate of that country, which might prove fatal to his weak constitution. The well-wishers of James were afraid of that prince's being hard pressed, should William take the field against him in person: both houses therefore began to prepare an address against this expedition. In order to prevent this remonstrance, the king went to the parliament, and formally signified his resolution. After his speech they were prorogued to the second day of April. On the sixth day of February they were dissolved by proclamation, and a new parliament was summoned to meet on the twentieth day of March. During this session, the commons, in an address to the king, desired that a revenue of fifty thousand pounds might be settled upon the prince and princess of Denmark, out of the civil list; and his majesty gratified them in this particular; though
the

The king
resolves to
finish the
Irish war
in person.

A. C. 1689: the warmth and industry with which the friends of the princess exerted themselves in promoting the settlement, produced a coldness and misunderstanding between the two sisters; and the subsequent disgrace of the earl of Marlborough was imputed to the part which his wife acted on the occasion. She was lady of the bed-chamber, and chief confidant to the princess, whom she strenuously advised to insist upon the settlement, rather than depend upon the generosity of the king and queen.

General Ludlow arrives in England; but is obliged to withdraw.

About this period, general Ludlow, who at the restoration had been excepted from the act of indemnity, as one of those who sat in judgment upon Charles I. arrived in England, and offered his service in reducing Ireland, where he had formerly commanded. Though a rigid republican, he was reputed a conscientious man, and a good officer. He had received some encouragement to come over, and probably would have been employed, had not the commons interposed. Sir Edward Seymour, who enjoyed by grant an estate in Wiltshire, which had formerly belonged to Ludlow, began to be in pain for his possession. He observed in the house, that the nation would be disgraced, should one of the regicides be suffered to live in the kingdom. An address was immediately presented to the king, desiring a proclamation might be issued, promising a reward for apprehending general Ludlow. This was accordingly published; but not before he had landed in Holland, from whence he returned to Vevay in Switzerland, where he wrote the memoirs of his life, and died after an exile of thirty years.

Efforts of the Jacobites in Scotland.

While king William fluctuated between two parties in England, his interest in Scotland had well-nigh given way to a coalition between the original

ginal Jacobites, and Montgomery's party of discontented presbyterians. Colonel Carron, who succeeded the viscount Dundee in command, after having made several unsuccessful efforts in favour of the late king's interest, retired into Ireland; and the Highlanders chose Sir Hugh Cameron for their leader. Under him they renewed their incursions with the better prospect of success, as several regiments of the regular troops had been sent to reinforce the army of Schomberg. James assisted them with cloaths, arms, and ammunition, together with some officers, amongst whom was colonel Buchan, appointed to act as their chief commander. This officer, at the head of fifteen hundred men, advanced into the shire of Murray, in hope of being joined by other malcontents; but he was surprised and routed by Sir Thomas Livingstone, while major Ferguson destroyed the places they possessed in the isle of Mull; so that the Highlanders were obliged to retire and conceal themselves among their hills and fastnesses. The friends of James despairing of doing any thing effectual for his service in the field, converted all their attention to the proceedings in parliament, where they imagined their interest was much stronger than it appeared to be upon trial. They took the oaths without hesitation, and hoped, by the assistance of their new allies, to embroil the government in such a manner that the majority of the people would declare for a restoration. But the views of these new cemented parties were altogether incompatible; and their principles diametrically opposite. Notwithstanding their concurrence in parliament, the earl of Melvil procured a small majority. The opposition was immediately discouraged; some individuals retracted, rather than fall with a sinking cause; and mutual jealousies began to prevail. The leaders of the coalition treated separately with king James;

A. C. 1689. made inconsistent demands; reciprocally concealed their negotiations; in a word, they distrusted and hated one another with the most implacable resentment.

The court-intereſt triumphs over all oppoſition in that country.

The earls of Argyle, Anandale, and Braidalbin, withdrew from their councils, and repaired to England. Montgomery, terrified at their defection, went privately to London, after he had hinted ſomething of the plot to Melvil, and ſolicited a paſs from the queen, which was reſuſed. Anandale having received information that Montgomery had diſcloſed all the particulars of the negotiation, threw himſelf upon the queen's mercy, and diſcovered all he knew of the conſpiracy. As he had not treated with any of the malcontents in England, they remained ſecure from his evidence; but, he informed againſt Nevil Payne, who had been ſent down as their agent to Scotland, where he now reſided. He was immediately apprehended by the council of that kingdom, in conſequence of a letter from the earl of Nottingham; and twice put to the torture, which he reſolutely bore without diſcovering his employers. Montgomery ſtill abſconded in London, ſoliciting a pardon; but, finding he could not obtain it, except on condition of making a full diſcovery, he abandoned his country, and choſe to die in exile, rather than betray his confederates. This diſunion of the conſpirators and diſcovery of the plot, left the earl of Melvil in poſſeſſion of a greater majority; though even this he was ſain to ſecure by overſtraining his inſtructions in the articles of patronage, and the ſupremacy of the crown, which he yielded up to the fury of the fanatic preſbyterians, contrary to the intention of king William. In lieu of theſe, however, they indulged him with the tax of chimney or hearth-money; and a teſt to be impoſed upon all perſons in office and parliament, declaring William

William and Mary their lawful sovereigns, and re-
A. C. 1689.
 nouncing the pretended title of king James. All
 the laws in favour of episcopacy were repealed.
 Threescore of the presbyterian ministers, who had
 been ejected at the restoration, were still alive; and
 these the parliament declared the only sound part
 of the church. The government of it was lodged
 in their hands; and they were empowered to admit
 such as they should think proper to their assistance.
 A few furious fanatics being thus associated, pro-
 ceeded with ungovernable violence to persecute the
 episcopal party, exercising the very same tyranny
 against which they themselves had so loudly ex-
 claimed.

While the presbyterian interest thus triumphed
 in Scotland, the two parties that divided England
 employed their whole influence and attention in
 managing the elections for a new parliament; and
 the Tories obtained the victory. The king seemed
 gradually falling into the arms of this party. They
 complained of their having been totally excluded
 from the lieutenancy of London at the king's ac-
 cession to the crown; and now a considerable num-
 ber of the most violent Tories in the city was ad-
 mitted into the commission by the interest and ad-
 dresses of the bishop of London, the marquis of
 Carmarthen, and the earl of Nottingham. To
 gratify that party, the earls of Monmouth and
 Warrington were dismissed from their employ-
 ments; nay, when the parliament met on the
 twentieth day of March, the commons chose for
 their speaker Sir John Trevor, a violent partisan of
 that faction, who had been created master of the
 rolls by the late king. He was a bold artful man,
 and undertook to procure a majority to be at the
 devotion of the court, provided he should be sup-
 plied with the necessary sums for the purposes of
 corruption. William finding there was no other

The Tory
 interest pre-
 vails in the
 new parlia-
 ment of
 England.

Burnet.
 Belcarros.
 Kennet.
 Tindal.
 Ralph.

A.C. 1690. way of maintaining his administration in peace, thought proper to countenance the practices of purchasing votes, and appointed Trevor first commissioner of the great seal. In his speech to the new parliament, he gave them to understand, that he still persisted in his resolution of going in person to Ireland. He desired they would make a settlement of the revenue, or establish it for the present, as a fund of credit, upon which the necessary sums for the service of the government might be immediately advanced: he signified his intention of sending to them an act of grace, with a few exceptions, that he might manifest his readiness to extend his protection to all his subjects; and leave no colour of excuse for raising disturbances in his absence, as he knew how busy some ill-affected men were in their endeavours to alter the established government: he recommended an union with Scotland, the parliament of which had appointed commissioners for that purpose: he told them he should leave the administration in the hands of the queen; and desired they would prepare an act to confirm her authority: he exhorted them to dispatch the business for which they were assembled; to avoid debates; and expressed his hope that they should soon meet again to finish what might be now left imperfect.

Bill for recognizing their majesties.

The commons, in compliance with his request, voted a supply of twelve hundred thousand pounds, one million of that sum to be raised by a clause of credit in the revenue-bills; but, he could not prevail upon them to settle the revenue for life. They granted, however, the hereditary excise for that term; but the customs for four years only. They considered this short term as the best security the kingdom could have for frequent parliaments; though this precaution was not at all agreeable to their sovereign. A poll-bill was likewise passed; other

other supplies were granted; and both parties seemed to court his majesty by advancing money on those fund of credit. The Whigs however had another battery in reserve. They produced, in the upper house, a bill for recognizing their majesties as the rightful and lawful sovereigns of these realms; and for declaring all the acts of the last parliament to be good and valid. The Tories were now reduced to a very perplexed situation. They could not oppose the bill without hazarding the interest they had so lately acquired, nor assent to it without solemnly renouncing their former arguments and distinctions. They made no great objections to the first part, and even proposed to enact, That those should be deemed good laws for the time to come; but they refused to declare them valid for that which was past. After a long debate, the bill was committed; yet the Whigs lost their majority on the report: nevertheless, the bill was recovered, and passed with some alteration in the words, in consequence of a nervous spirited protest, signed Bolton, Macclesfield, Stamford, Newport, Bedford, Herbert, Suffolk, Monmouth, Delemare, and Oxford. The whole interest of the court was thrown into the scale with this bill, before it would preponderate against the Tories, the chiefs of whom, with the earl of Nottingham at their head, protested in their turn. The same party in the house of commons were determined upon a vigorous opposition; and in the mean time some trifling objections were made that it might be committed for amendment; but their design was prematurely discovered by one of their faction, who chanced to question the legality of the convention, as it was not summoned by the king's writ. This insinuation was answered by Somers the Solicitor-general, who observed, that if it was not a legal parliament, they who were then met, and who had taken the oaths

A. C. 1690. enacted by that parliament, were guilty of high treason : the laws repealed by it were still in force; it was their duty therefore to return to king James; and all concerned in collecting and paying the money levied by the acts of that parliament, were highly criminal. The Tories were so struck with these arguments, that the bill passed without further opposition, and immediately received the royal assent. Thus the settlement was confirmed by those very people who had so loudly exclaimed against it as illegal : but the Whigs, with all their management, would not have gained their point, had not the court been interested in the dispute.

Another violent contest about the bill of abjuration.

There was another violent contest between the two parties, on the import of a bill requiring all subjects in office to abjure king James, on pain of imprisonment. Though the clergy were at first exempted from this test, the main body of the Tories opposed it with great vehemence, while the Whigs, under the countenance of the ministry, supported it with equal vigour. It produced long and violent debates; and the two factions seemed pretty equally balanced. At length, the Tories represented to the king, that a great deal of precious time would be lost in fruitless altercation: that those who declared against the bill would grow sullen and intractable, so as to oppose every other motion that might be made for the king's service: that, in case of its being carried, his majesty must fall again into the hands of the Whigs, who would renew their former practices against the prerogative; and many individuals, who are now either well affected to him, or at least neutral, would become Jacobites from resentment. These suggestions had such weight with king William, that he sent an intimation to the commons, desiring they would drop the debate, and proceed to matters that were more pressing. The Whigs in general were disgusted

at

at this interposition; and the earl of Shrewsbury, who had interested himself warmly in behalf of the bill, resented it so deeply, that he insisted on resigning his office of secretary of state. The king, who revered his talents and integrity, employed Dr. Tillotson and others, who were supposed to have credit with the earl, to dissuade him from quitting his employment; but, he continued deaf to all their remonstrances, and would not even comply with the request of his majesty, who pressed him to keep the seals until he should return from Ireland. Long debates were likewise managed in the house of lords, upon the bill of abjuration, or rather an oath of special fidelity to William, in opposition to James. The Tories professed themselves willing to enter into a negative engagement against the late king and his adherents; but they opposed the oath of abjuration with all their might; and the house was so equally divided that neither side was willing to hazard a decision: so that all the fruits of their debates was a prolongation of the session.

An act was prepared for investing the queen with the administration during the king's absence; another for reversing the judgment on a Quo Warranto against the city of London, and restoring it to its antient rights and privileges; and at length the bill of indemnity so cordially recommended by the king, passed both houses †. On

King William lands in Ireland.

† The following persons were excepted from the benefit of this act. William, marquis of Powis; Theophilus, earl of Huntingdon; Robert, earl of Sunderland; John earl of Melfort; Roger, earl of Castlemain; Nathaniel, lord-bishop of Durham; Thomas, lord-bishop of St. David's; Henry lord Dover; lord Thomas Howard, Sir Edward Hales, Sir Francis Withers,

Sir Edward Lutwych, Sir Thomas Jenner, Sir Nicholas Butler, Sir William Herbert, Sir Richard Holloway, Sir Richard Heath, Sir Roger L'Estrange, William Molineux, Thomas Tyndesley, colonel Townly, colonel Lunday, Robert Brent, Edward Morgan, Philip Burton, Richard Graham, Edward Petre, Obadiah Walker, Matthew Crone, and George lord Jeffries deceased.

A. C. 1690. the twenty-first day of May, the king closed the session with a short speech, in which he thanked them for the supplies they had granted; and recommended to them a punctual discharge of their duties in their respective counties, that the peace of the nation might not be interrupted in his absence. The houses were adjourned to the seventh day of July; then the parliament was prorogued and adjourned successively. As a further security for the peace of the kingdom, the deputy-lieutenants were authorised to raise the militia, in case of necessity. All papists were prohibited to stir above five miles from their respective places of abode: a proclamation was published for apprehending certain disaffected persons; Sir John Cochran and Ferguson were actually arrested on suspicion of treasonable practices. On the fourth day of June the king set out for Ireland, attended by prince George of Denmark, the duke of Ormond, the earls of Oxford, Scarborough, Manchester; and many other persons of distinction; on the fourteenth day of the month he landed at Carrickfergus, from whence he immediately proceeded to Belfast, where he was met by the duke of Schomberg, the prince of Wurtemberg, major-general Kirke, and other officers. By this time colonel Wolesey, at the head of a thousand men, had defeated a strong detachment of the enemy near Belturbat; Sir John Lanier had taken Bedloe-castle, and that of Charlemont; a strong post of great importance, together with Balingargy near Cavan, had been reduced. King William having reposed himself for two or three days at Belfast, visited the duke's head quarters at Lisburne; and advancing to Hillsborough, published an order against pressing horses, and committing violence on the country-people. When some of his general officers proposed cautious measures, he declared he did

did not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. He ordered the army to encamp and be reviewed at Loughbrilland, where he found it amounted to six and thirty thousand effective men well appointed. Then he marched to Dundalk; and afterwards advanced to Ardee, which the enemy had just abandoned.

King James trusted so much to the disputes in the English parliament, that he did not believe his son-in-law would be able to quit that kingdom; and he had been six days in Ireland before he received intimation of his arrival. This was no sooner known, than he left Dublin under the guard of the militia, commanded by Lutterel, and with a reinforcement of six thousand infantry, which he had lately received from France, joined the rest of his forces, which now almost equalled William's army in number, exclusive of about fifteen thousand men who remained in different garrisons. He occupied a very advantageous post on the bank of the Boyne, and, contrary to the advice of his general-officers, resolved to stand battle. They proposed to strengthen their garrisons, and retire to the Shannon, to wait the effect of the operations at sea. Lewis had promised to equip a powerful armament against the English fleet, and send over a great number of small frigates to destroy William's transports, as soon as their convoy should be returned to England. The execution of this scheme was not at all difficult, and must have proved fatal to the English army; for their stores and ammunition were still on board; the ships sailed along the coast as the troops advanced in their march; and there was not one secure harbour into which they could retire on any emergency. James, however, was bent upon hazarding an engagement; and expressed uncommon confidence and alacrity. Besides the river, which was deep, his front was secured
by

King James
marches to
the Boyne.

A. C. 1690. by a morass and a rising ground: so that the English army could not attack him without manifest disadvantage.

William resolves to give him battle.

King William marched up to the opposite bank of the river, and as he reconnoitred their situation, was exposed to the fire of some field-pieces, which the enemy had purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close by him; and the second bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed upon his right shoulder, so as to carry off part of his cloaths and skin, and produce a considerable contusion. This accident, which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed, and shouted aloud in token of their joy. Their whole camp resounded with acclamations; and several squadrons of their horse were drawn down towards the river, as if they had intended to pass it immediately and attack the English army. The report was instantly communicated from place to place, until it reached Dublin, from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where, contrary to the custom of the French court, the people were encouraged to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations. William rode along the line, to shew himself to the army after this narrow escape. At night he called a council of war, and declared his resolution to attack the enemy in the morning. Schomberg at first opposed this design; but finding the king determined, he advised that a strong detachment of horse and foot should that night pass the Boyne at Slane-bridge, and take post between the enemy and the pass of Duleck, that the action might be the more decisive. This counsel being rejected, the king determined that early in the morning, lieutenant-general Douglass, with the right wing of infantry, and young Schomberg with the horse, should pass at

at Slane-bridge; while the main body of foot should force their passage at Old-bridge, and the left at certain fords between the enemy's camp and Drogheda. The duke perceiving his advice was not relished by the Dutch generals, retired to his tent, where the order of battle being brought to him, he received it with an air of discontent, saying, it was the first that had ever been sent him in that manner. The proper dispositions being made, William rode quite through the army by torch-light, and then retired to his tent, after having given order for the soldiers to distinguish themselves from the enemy by wearing green boughs in their hats during the action.

At six o'clock in the morning, general Douglas, with young Schomberg, the earl of Portland, and Overkirk, marched towards Slane-bridge, and passed the river with very little opposition. When they reached the farther bank, they perceived the enemy drawn up in two lines, to a considerable number of horse and foot, with a morass in their front; so that Douglas was obliged to wait for a reinforcement. This being arrived, the infantry were led on the charge through the morass, while count Schomberg rode round it with his cavalry, to attack the enemy in flank. The Irish, instead of waiting the assault, faced about, and retreated towards Duleck with some precipitation; yet not so fast, but that Schomberg fell in among their rear, and did considerable execution. King James, however, soon reinforced his left wing from the center; and the count was in his turn obliged to send for assistance. At this juncture, king William's main body, consisting of the Dutch guards, the French regiments, and some battalions of English, passed the river, which was waist high, under a general discharge of artillery. King James had imprudently removed his cannon from the other side;

Battle of the
Boync.

A. C. 1690. side; but, he had posted a strong body of musqueteers along the bank, behind hedges, houses, and some works raised for the occasion. They poured in a close fire upon the English troops before they reached the shore; but it produced very little effect: then the Irish gave way; and some battalions landed without farther opposition. Yet before they could form, they were charged with great impetuosity by a squadron of the enemy's horse; and a considerable body of their cavalry and foot, commanded by general Hamilton, advanced from behind some little hillocks, to attack those that were landed, as well as to prevent the rest from reaching the shore. His infantry turned their backs and fled immediately; but, the horse charged with incredible fury, both upon the bank and in the river, so as to put the unformed regiments in confusion. Then the duke of Schomberg passing the river in person, put himself at the head of the French protestants, and pointing to the enemy, "Gentlemen, (said he) those are your persecutors;" with these words he advanced to the attack, where he himself sustained a violent onset from a party of the Irish horse which had broke through one of the regiments, and were now on their return. They were mistaken for English, and allowed to gallop up to the duke, who received two severe wounds in the head; but, the French regiments being now sensible of their mistake, rashly threw in their fire upon the Irish while they were engaged with the duke; and instead of saving, shot him dead upon the spot. The fate of this general had well nigh proved fatal to the English army, which was immediately involved in tumult and disorder; while the infantry of king James rallied and returned to their posts with a face of resolution. They were just ready to fall upon the center, when king William having passed with the
left

left wing, composed of the Danish, Dutch, and Inniskillin horse, advanced to attack them on the right. They were struck with such a panic at his appearance, that they made a sudden halt, and then facing about, retreated to the village of Dunore. There they made such a vigorous stand, that the Dutch and Danish horse, though headed by the king in person, recoiled. Even the Inniskilliners gave way, and that whole wing would have been routed, had not a detachment of dragoons belonging to the regiments of Cunningham and Levison, dismounted, and lined the hedges on each side of the defile, through which the fugitives were driven. There they did such execution upon the pursuers as soon checked their ardour. The horse which were broken, had now time to rally, and returning to the charge, drove the enemy before them in their turn. In this action general Hamilton, who had been the life and soul of the Irish during the whole engagement, was wounded and taken; an incident which discouraged them to such a degree, that they made no further efforts to retrieve the advantage they had lost. He was immediately brought to the king, who asked him if he thought the Irish would make any further resistance? and he replied, "Upon my honour I believe they will; for they have still a good body of horse intire." William eying him with looks of disdain, repeated, "Your honour! your honour!" but took no other notice of his having acted contrary to his engagement, when he was permitted to go to Ireland, on promise of persuading Tyrconnel to submit to the new government. The Irish now abandoned the field with precipitation; but, the French and Swiss troops that acted as their auxiliaries, under Lauzun, retreated in good order, after having maintained the battle for some time with intrepidity and perseverance. As

A. C. 1650. king William did not think proper to pursue the enemy, the carnage was not great.

Death and character of Schomberg.

The Irish lost about fifteen hundred men, and the English about one third of that number; tho' the victory was dearly purchased, considering the death of the gallant duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-second year of his age, after having rivalled the best generals of the age in military reputation. He was descended of a noble family in the Palatinate, and his mother was an Englishwoman, daughter of lord Dudley. Being obliged to leave his country on account of the troubles by which it was agitated, he commenced a soldier of fortune, and served successively in the armies of Holland, England, France, Portugal, and Brandenburg. He attained to the dignities of marshal in France, grandee in Portugal, generalissimo in Prussia, and duke in England. He professed the protestant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment, cool, penetrating, resolute, and sagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage. This battle likewise proved fatal to the brave CailleMOTE, who had followed the duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the protestant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four soldiers; and though almost in the agonies of death, he with a cheerful countenance encouraged those who were crossing to do their duty, exclaiming "A la gloire mes enfans; a la gloire! To glory, my lads; to glory!" The third remarkable person who lost his life on this occasion, was Walker the clergyman, who had so valiantly defended Londonderry against the whole army of king James. He had been very graciously received by king William, who gratified him with a reward of five thousand pounds, and a promise of further favour; but his military genius still predominating, he attended his royal

royal patron in this battle; and being shot in the belly, died in a few minutes. The persons of distinction who fell on the other side, were the lords Dongan and Carlingford, Sir Neile O Neile, and the marquis of Hocquencourt. James himself stood aloof during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and seeing victory declare against him, retired to Dublin, without having made the least effort to reassemble his broken forces. Had he possessed either spirit or conduct, his army might have been rallied, and reinforced from his garrisons, so as to be in a condition to keep the field, and even act upon the offensive; for his loss was inconsiderable, and the victor did not attempt to molest his troops in their retreat; an omission which has been charged upon him as a flagrant instance of misconduct. Indeed, through the whole of this engagement, his personal courage was much more conspicuous than his military skill.

King James no sooner arrived at Dublin, than he assembled the magistrates and council of the city, and in a short speech resigned them to the fortune of the victor. He complained of the cowardice of the Irish; signified his resolution of leaving the kingdom immediately; forbid them, on their allegiance, to burn or plunder the city after his departure; and assured them, that though he was obliged to yield to force, he would never cease to labour for their deliverance. Next day he set out for Waterford, attended by the duke of Berwick, Tyrconnel, and the marquis of Powis. He ordered all the bridges to be broken down behind him, and embarked in a vessel which had been prepared for his reception. At sea he fell in with the French squadron, commanded by the sieur de Foran, who persuaded him to go on board one of his frigates, which was a prime sailer. In this he was safely

James embarks for France.

A. C. 1690.

safely conveyed to France; and returned to the place of his former residence at St. Germain's. He had no sooner quitted Dublin, than it was also abandoned by all the papists. The protestants immediately took possession of the arms belonging to the militia, under the conduct of the bishops of Meath and Limerick. A committee was formed to take charge of the administration; and an account of these transactions was transmitted to king William, together with a petition that he would honour the city with his presence.

William enters Dublin, and publishes his declaration.

On the morning after the battle of the Boyne, William sent a detachment of horse and foot, under the command of Mr. Melionere, to Drogheda, the governor of which surrendered the place without opposition. The king, at the head of the army, began his march for Dublin, and halted the first night at Bally-Breghan, where having received advice of the enemy's retreat from the capital, he sent the duke of Ormond, with a body of horse, to take possession. These were immediately followed by the Dutch guards, who secured the castle. In a few days the king encamped at Finglas, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, where he was visited by the bishops of Meath and Limerick, at the head of the protestant clergy, whom he assured of his favour and protection. Then he published a declaration of pardon to all the common people who had served against him, provided they should return to their dwellings, and surrender their arms by the first day of August. Those that rented lands of popish proprietors who had been concerned in the rebellion, were required to retain their rents in their own hands, until they should have notice from the commissioners of the revenue, to whom they might be paid. The desperate leaders of the rebellion, who had violated the laws of the kingdom, called in the French, authorized the depredations

dations which had been committed upon protestants, and rejected the pardon offered to them on the king's first proclamation, were left to the event of war, unless by evident demonstrations of repentance they should deserve mercy, which would never be refused to those that were truly penitent. The next step taken, by king William, was to issue a proclamation, reducing the brass money to nearly its intrinsic value. In the mean time, the principal officers in the army of James, after having seen him embark at Waterford, returned to their troops, determined to prosecute the war as long as they could be supplied with means to support their operations.

During these transactions, the queen, as regent, found herself surrounded with numberless cares and perplexities. Her council was pretty equally divided into Whigs and Tories, who did not always act with unanimity. She was distracted between her apprehensions for her father's safety and her husband's life: she was threatened with an invasion by the French from abroad, and with an insurrection by the Jacobites at home. Nevertheless, she disguised her fears, and behaved with equal prudence and fortitude. Advice being received that a fleet was ready to sail from Brest, lord Torrington hoisted his flag in the Downs, and sailed round to St. Helen's, in order to assemble such a number of ships as would enable him to give them battle. The enemy being discovered off Plymouth, on the twentieth day of June, the English admiral, reinforced with a Dutch squadron, put to sea with a view to intercept them at the back of the isle of Wight, should they presume to sail up the channel. Not that he thought himself strong enough to cope with them in battle; for their fleet consisted of seventy-eight ships of war, and two and twenty fireships; whereas the combined squadrons of Eng-

The French obtain a victory over the English and Dutch fleets off Beachy-head.

A. C. 1690. land and Holland did not exceed six and fifty ; but, he had received orders to hazard an engagement, if he thought it might be done with any prospect of success. After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, lord Torrington bore down upon the enemy off Beachy-head, on the thirtieth day of June at day-break. The Dutch squadron which composed the van, began the engagement about nine in the morning ; in about half an hour the blue division of the English were close engaged with the rear of the French ; but the red, which formed the center, under the command of Torrington in person, did not fill the line till ten o'clock ; so that the Dutch were almost surrounded by the enemy ; and though they fought with great valour, sustained considerable damage. At length, the admiral's division drove between them and the French ; and in that situation the fleet anchored about five in the afternoon, when the action was interrupted by a calm. The Dutch had suffered so severely, that he thought it would be imprudent to renew the battle : he therefore weighed anchor in the night, and with the tide of flood retired to the eastward. The next day the disabled ships were destroyed, that they might not be retarded in their retreat. They were pursued as far as Rye ; and an English ship of seventy guns being stranded near Winchelsea, was set on fire, and deserted, by the captain's command. A Dutch ship of sixty-four guns met with the same accident, and some French frigates attempted to burn her ; but, the captain defended her so vigorously, that they were obliged to desist ; and he afterwards found means to carry her safe to Holland. In this engagement the English lost two ships, two sea-captains, and about four hundred men ; but, the Dutch were more unfortunate. Six of their great ships were destroyed. Dick and Brackel,
rear-

rear-admirals, were slain, together with a great number of inferior officers and seamen. Torrington retreated without further interruption into the mouth of the Thames; and having taken precautions against any attempts of the enemy in that quarter, returned to London, the inhabitants of which were overwhelmed with consternation.

The government was infected with the same panic. The ministry pretended to believe that the French acted in concert with the malcontents of the nation; that insurrections in different parts of the kingdom had been projected by the Jacobites; and that there would be a general revolt in Scotland. These insinuations were circulated by the court-agents, in order to justify, in the opinion of the public, the measures that were deemed necessary at this juncture; and they produced the desired effect. The apprehensions thus artfully raised among the people, inflamed their aversion to non-jurors and Jacobites. Addresses were presented to the queen, by the Cornish tanners, the lieutenancy of Middlesex, and by the mayor, aldermen, and lieutenancy of London, filled with professions of loyalty, and promises of supporting their majesties, as their lawful sovereigns, against all opposition. The queen, at this crisis, exhibited remarkable proofs of courage, activity, and discretion. She issued out proper orders and directions for putting the nation in a posture of defence, as well as for refitting and augmenting the fleet: she took measures for appeasing the resentment of the States-general, who exclaimed against the earl of Torrington for his behaviour in the late action. He was deprived of his command, and sent prisoner to the Tower; and commissioners were appointed to examine the particular circumstances of his conduct. A camp was formed in the neighbourhood of Tor-

Torrington
committed
prisoner to
the Tower.

A. C. 1690 scent. Their fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, cannonaded a small village called Tinnmouth. About a thousand of their men landed without opposition, set fire to the place, and burned a few coasting vessels: then they re embarked, and returned to Brest; so vain of this achievement, that they published a pompous account of their invasion. Some of the Whig partisans published pamphlets, and diffused reports, implying, that the suspended bishops were concerned in the conspiracy against the government; and these arts proved so inflammatory among the common people, that the prelates thought it necessary to print a paper, in which they asserted their innocence in the most solemn protestations. The court seems to have harboured no suspicion against them; otherwise they would not have escaped imprisonment, when the queen published a proclamation for apprehending the earls of Litchfield, Aylesbury; and Castlemain, viscount Preston, the lords Montgomery and Bellasis, Sir Edward Hales, Sir Robert Tharold, Sir Robert Hamilton, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, colonel Edward Sackville, and some other officers, accused of having conspired with other disaffected persons, to disturb and destroy the government, and of a design to concur with her majesty's enemies in the intended invasion. The earl of Torrington continued a prisoner in the Tower till next session, when he was brought into the house of commons; and made a speech in his own defence. His case produced long debates in the upper house, where the form of his commitment was judged illegal: at length, he was tried by a court-martial, appointed by the commissioners of the admiralty, though not before an act had passed, declaring the power of a lord high-admiral vested in those commissioners. The president of the court was Sir Ralph Delaval, who had acted as vice-admiral of the

the blue, in the engagement. The earl was acquitted: but, the king dismissed him from the service; and the Dutch exclaimed against the partiality of his judges. A. C. 1690.

William is said to have taken all the papers of his father-in-law and Tyrconnel, and to have learned from them, not only the design projected by the French to burn the English transports, but likewise the undertaking of one Jones, who engaged to assassinate king William. No such attempt, however, was made; and, in all probability, the whole report was a fiction, calculated to throw an odium on James's character. On the ninth day of July, William detached general Douglas with a considerable body of horse and foot towards Athlone; while he himself, having left Trelawny to command at Dublin, advanced with the rest of his army to Inchequin, in his way to Kilkenny. Colonel Grace, the governor of Athlone for king James, being summoned to surrender, fired a pistol at the trumpeter, saying, "These are my terms." Then Douglas resolved to undertake the siege of the place, which was naturally very strong, and defended by a resolute garrison. An inconsiderable breach was made, when Douglas receiving intelligence that Sarsfield was on his march to the relief of the besieged, abandoned the enterprize, after having lost above four hundred men in the attempt. The king continued his march to the westward; and, by dint of severe examples, established such order and discipline in his army, that the peasants were secure from the least violence. At Carlow he detached the duke of Ormond to take possession of Kilkenny, where that nobleman regaled him in his own castle, which the enemy had left undamaged. While the army encamped at Carrick, major-general Kirke was sent to Waterford,

Progress of
William in
Ireland.

A. C. 1690. the garrison of which, consisting of two regiments, capitulated, upon condition of marching out with their arms and baggage, and being conducted to Mallow. The fort of Duncannon was surrendered on the same terms. Here the lord Dover and the lord George Howard were admitted to the benefit of the king's mercy and protection.

He invests Limerick, but is obliged to raise the siege, and returns to England.

On the first day of August, William being at Chapel-Izard, published a second declaration of mercy, confirming the former, and even extending it to persons of superior rank and station, whether natives or foreigners, provided they would, by the twenty-fifth day of the month, lay down their arms, and submit to certain conditions. This offer of indemnity produced very little effect; for the Irish were generally governed by their priests; and the news of the victory which the French fleet had obtained over the English and Dutch, were circulated with such exaggerations as elevated their spirits, and effaced all thoughts of submission. The king had returned to Dublin, with a view to embark for England; but receiving notice that the designs of his domestic enemies were discovered and frustrated, that the fleet was repaired, and the French navy retired to Brest, he postponed his voyage, and resolved to reduce Limerick; in which monsieur Boisseleau commanded as governor, and the duke of Berwick and colonel Sarsfield acted as inferior officers. On the ninth day of August, the king having called in his detachments, and advanced into the neighbourhood of the place, summoned the commander to deliver the town; and Boisseleau answered, that he imagined the best way to gain the good opinion of the prince of Orange, would be a vigorous defence of the town, which his majesty had committed to his charge. Before the place was fully invested, colonel Sarsfield, with a
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body of horse and dragoons, passed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the king's train of artillery on its way to the camp, routed the troops that guarded it, disabled the cannon, destroyed the carriages, waggons, and ammunition, and returned in safety to Limerick. Notwithstanding this disaster, the trenches were opened on the seventeenth day of the month, and a battery was raised with some cannon brought from Waterford. The siege was carried on with vigour, and the place defended with great resolution. At length the king ordered his troops to make a lodgment in the covered way or counterscarp, which was accordingly assaulted with great fury; but the assailants met with such a warm reception from the besieged, that they were repulsed with the loss of twelve hundred men, either killed on the spot or mortally wounded. This disappointment concurring with the badness of the weather, which became rainy and unwholesome, induced the king to renounce his undertaking. The heavy baggage and cannon being sent away, the army decamped and marched towards Clonmel. William having constituted the lord Sidney and Thomas Coningsby lords justices of Ireland, and left the command of the army with count Solmes, embarked at Duncannon, with prince George of Denmark, on the fifth of September, and next day arrived in King's-road, near Bristol, from whence he repaired to Windsor.

About the latter end of this month, the earl of Marlborough arrived in Ireland with five thousand English troops, to attack Cork and Kinsale, in conjunction with a detachment from the great army, according to a scheme he had proposed to king William. Having landed his soldiers, without much opposition, in the neighbourhood of Cork, he was joined by five thousand men, under the prince of Wirtemberg, between whom and the earl a dispute

Cork and Kinsale reduced by the earl of Marlborough.

A. C. 1690. dispute arose about the command: but this was compromised by the interposition of La Mollonere. The place being invested, and the batteries raised, the besiegers proceeded with such rapidity that a breach was soon effected. Colonel Mackintosh the governor demanded a parley, and hostages were exchanged: but he rejected the conditions that were offered, and hostilities recommenced with redoubled vigour. The duke of Grafton, who served on this occasion as a volunteer, was mortally wounded in one of the attacks, and died regretted as a youth of promising talents. Preparations being made for a general assault, the besieged thought proper to capitulate, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Besides the governor and colonel Ricaut, the victor found the earls of Clancarty and Tyrone among the individuals of the garrison. Marlborough having taken possession of Cork, detached brigadier Villiers with a body of horse and dragoons to summon the town and forts of Kinsale, and next day advanced with the rest of the forces. The old fort was immediately taken by assault, but Sir Edward Scot, who commanded the other, sustained a regular siege, until the breach was practicable, and then obtained an honourable capitulation. These maritime places being reduced, all communication between France and the enemy on this side of the island, was cut off, and the Irish were confined to Ulster, where they could not subsist without great difficulty. The earl of Marlborough having finished this expedition in thirty days, returned with his prisoners to England, where the fame of this exploit added greatly to his reputation.

Lausun and the French forces quit Ireland.

During these transactions, count de Lauzun commander of the French auxiliaries in Ireland, lay inactive in the neighbourhood of Galway, and transmitted such a lamentable account of his situation

tion to the court of France, that transports were sent over to bring home the French forces. In these he embarked with his troops, and the command of the Irish forces devolved to the duke of Berwick, though it was afterwards transferred to Mr. St. Ruth. Lauzun was disgraced at Versailles, for having deserted the cause before it was desperate; and Tyrconnel, who accompanied him in his voyage, solicited the French court for a further supply of officers, arms, cloaths, and ammunition, for the Irish army, which he said would continue firm to the interest of king James, if thus supported. Mean while, they formed themselves into separate bodies of freebooters, and plundered the country, under the appellation of Rapparees; while the troops of king William either enjoyed their ease in quarters, or imitated the rapine of the enemy; so that, between both, the poor people were miserably harrassed.

The affairs of the continent had not yet undergone any change of importance, except in the conduct of the duke of Savoy, who renounced his neutrality, engaged in an alliance with the emperor and the king of Spain; and, in a word, acceded to the grand confederacy. The duke of Savoy joins the confederacy. He had no sooner declared himself, than Catinat the French general entered his territories at the head of eighteen thousand men, defeated him in a pitched battle near Saluces, which immediately surrendered to the conqueror. Then he reduced Savillana, Villa Franca, with several other places, pursued the duke to Carignan, surpris'd Suza, and distributed his forces in winter-quarters, partly in Provence, and partly in the dutchy of Savoy, which St. Ruth had lately reduced under the dominion of France. The duke finding himself disappointed in the succours he expected from the emperor and king of Spain,

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A. C. 1690. demanded assistance from the States-general and king William, to whom he sent an ambassador to congratulate him upon his accession to the throne of England. The confederates, in their general congress at the Hague, had agreed that the army of the states under prince Waldeck should oppose the forces of France, commanded by the duke of Luxemburg in Flanders; while the elector of Brandenburg should observe the marquis de Boufflers on the Moselle: but before the troops of Brandenburg could be assembled, Boufflers encamped between the Sambre and the Meuse, and maintained a free communication with Luxemburg.

Prince Waldeck defeated at Flerus.

Prince Waldeck understanding that this general intended to cross the Sambre between Namur and Charleroy, in order to lay the Spanish territories under contribution, decamped from the river Piéton, and detached the count of Berlo, with a great body of horse, to observe the motions of the enemy. He was encountered by the French army near Flerus, and slain; and his troops, though supported by two other detachments, were hardly able to rejoin the main body, which continued all night in order of battle. Next day they were attacked by the French, who were greatly superior to them in number; and, after a very obstinate engagement, obliged to give way, leaving about five thousand men dead upon the field of battle. The enemy took about four thousand prisoners, and the greatest part of their artillery; but the victory was dearly bought. The Dutch infantry fought with surprising resolution and success. The duke of Luxemburg owned, with surprise, that they had surpassed the Spanish foot at the battle of Rogroy. "Prince Waldeck (said he) ought always to remember the French horse; and I shall never forget the Dutch infantry." The Dutch general exerted

exerted himself with such activity, that the French derived very little advantage from the victory. The prince being reinforced with the five English regiments, nine thousand Hanoverians, ten thousand from the bishopric of Liege and Holland, joined the elector of Brandenburg; so that the confederate army amounted to five and fifty thousand men; and they marched by the way of Genap to Bois-Seigneur-Isaac. They were now superior to Luxemburg, who thought proper to fortify his camp, that he might not be obliged to fight, except with considerable advantage. Nevertheless prince Waldeck would have attacked him in his entrenchments, had not he been prohibited from hazarding another engagement, by an express order of the States-general; and, when this restriction was removed, the elector would not venture a battle.

By this time the emperor's son Joseph was by the electoral college chosen king of the Romans; but his interest sustained a rude shock in the death of the gallant duke of Lorraine, who was suddenly seized with a quinsy, at a small village near Lintz, and expired, not without suspicion of having fallen a sacrifice to the fears of the French king, against whom he had formerly declared war, as a sovereign prince unjustly expelled from his territories. He possessed great military talents, and had threatened to enter Lorraine, at the head of forty thousand men, in the course of the ensuing summer. The court of France, alarmed at this declaration, is said to have had recourse to poison, for preventing the execution of the duke's design. At his death the command of the imperial army was conferred upon the elector of Bavaria, who having joined the elector of Saxony, advanced against the dauphin, who had passed the Rhine at Fort Louis, with a considerable army, and intended to penetrate into Wirtemberg; but the duke of Bavaria checked

The arch-
duke Joseph
elected king
of the Ro-
mans
Death of the
duke of
Lorraine.
Progress of
the war
against the
Turks.

A. C. 1696. checked his progress, and he acted on the defensive during the remaining part of the campaign. The emperor was less fortunate in his efforts against the Turks, who rejected the conditions of peace he had offered, and took the field, under a new vizir. In the month of August, count Tekeli defeated a body of Imperialists, near Cronstadt in Transylvania; then convoking the states of that province at Albajulia, he compelled them to elect him their sovereign: but his reign was of short duration. Prince Lewis of Baden having taken the command of the Austrian army, detached four regiments into Belgrade, and advanced against Tekeli, who retired into Valachia at his approach. Mean while, the grand vizir invested Belgrade, and carried on his attacks with surprising resolution. At length, a bomb falling upon a great tower, in which the powder-magazine of the besieged was contained, the place blew up with a dreadful explosion. Seventeen hundred soldiers of the garrison were destroyed; the walls and ramparts were overthrown, the ditch was filled up, and so large a breach was opened, that the Turks entered by squadrons and battalions, cutting in pieces all that fell in their way. The fire spread from magazine to magazine, until eleven were destroyed; and, in the confusion, the remaining part of the garrison escaped to Peterwaradin. By this time the Imperialists were in possession of Transylvania, and cantoned at Cronstadt and Clausinburgh. Tekeli undertook to attack the province on one side, while a body of Turks should invade it on the other: these last were totally dispersed by prince Lewis of Baden: but prince Augustus of Hanover, whom he had detached against the count, was slain in a narrow defile, and his troops obliged to retreat with precipitation. Tekeli, however, did not improve this advantage. Being apprised of the
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the fate of his allies; and afraid of seeing his retreat cut off by the snow, that frequently choaks up the passes of the mountains, he retreated again to Valachia, and prince Lewis returned to Vienna.

King William having published a proclamation, Meeting of the parliament. requiring the attendance of the members on the second day of October, both houses met accordingly, and he opened the session with a speech to the usual purport. He mentioned what he had done towards the reduction of Ireland; commended the behaviour of the troops; told them the supplies were not equal to the necessary expence; represented the danger to which the nation would be exposed, unless the war should be prosecuted with vigour; conjured them to clear his revenue, which was mortgaged for the payment of former debts, and enable him to pay off the arrears of the army; assured them that the success of the confederacy abroad would depend upon the vigour and dispatch of their proceedings; expressed his resentment against those who had been guilty of misconduct in the management of the fleet; recommended unanimity and expedition, and declared, that whoever should attempt to divert their attention from those subjects of importance which he had proposed, could neither be a friend to him, nor a well-wisher to his country. The late attempt of the French upon the coast of England, the rumours of a conspiracy by the Jacobites, the personal valour which William had displayed in Ireland, and the pusillanimous behaviour of James, concurred in warming the resentment of the nation against the adherents of the late king, and in raising a tide of loyalty in favour of the new government. Both houses presented separate addresses of congratulation to the king and queen, upon his courage and conduct in the field; and her fortitude
and

A. C. 1690. and sagacity at the helm, in times of danger and disquiet. The commons, pursuant to an estimate laid before them of the next year's expences, voted a supply of four millions for the maintenance of the army and navy, and settled the funds for that purpose.

The commons comply with all the king's demands.

They proposed to raise one million by the sale of forfeited estates in Ireland: they resolved, that a bill should be brought in for confiscating those estates, with a clause, impowering the king to bestow a third part of them on those who had served in the war, as well as to grant such articles and capitulations to those who were in arms, as he should think proper. This clause was rejected, and a great number of petitions were offered against the bill, by creditors and heirs, who had continued faithful to the government. These were supposed to have been suggested by the court, in order to retard the progress of the bill; for the estates had been already promised to the king's favourites: nevertheless, the bill passed the lower house, and was sent up to the lords, among whom it was purposely delayed by the influence of the ministry. It was at this juncture that lord Torrington was tried and acquitted, very much to the dissatisfaction of the king, who not only dismissed him from the service, but even forbade him to appear in his presence. When William came to the house of lords, to give the royal assent to a bill for doubling the excise, he told the parliament, that the posture of affairs required his presence at the Hague; that therefore, they ought to lose no time in perfecting such other supplies as were still necessary for the maintenance of the army and navy; and he reminded them of making some provision for the expence of the civil government. Two bills were accordingly passed for granting to their majesties the duties on goods imported for five years; and these, together

ther with the mutiny-bill, received the royal assent: upon which occasion the king observed, that if some annual provision could be made for augmenting the navy, it would greatly conduce to the honour and safety of the nation. In consequence of this hint, they voted a considerable supply for building additional ships of war *, and proceeded with such alacrity and expedition, as even seemed to anticipate the king's desires. This liberality and dispatch were in a great measure owing to the management of lord Godolphin, who was now placed at the head of the treasury, and Sir John Somers the solicitor-general. The place of secretary of state, which had remained vacant since the resignation of the earl of Shrewsbury, was now filled with lord Sidney; and Sir Charles Porter was appointed one of the justices of Ireland, in the room of this nobleman.

Notwithstanding the act for reversing the proceedings against the city charter, the Whigs had made shift to keep possession of the magistracy: Pilkington continued mayor, and Robinson retained the office of chamberlain. The Tories of the city presuming upon their late services, presented a petition to the house of commons, complaining, That the intent of the late act of parliament for reversing the judgment on the Quo Warranto, was frustrated by some doubtful expression; so that the old aldermen elected by commissions under the late king's great seal, still acted by virtue of that authority: That Sir Thomas Pilkington was not

Petition of
the Tories
in the city
of London.

* This supply was raised by the additional duties upon beer, ale, and other liquors. They also provided in the bill, that the impositions on wines, vinegar, and tobacco, should be made a fund of credit: That the surplus of the grants they had made, after the current service was provided for, should

be applicable to the payment of the debts contracted by the war—and, That it should be lawful for their majesties to make use of five hundred thousand pounds out of the said grants, on condition of that sum's being repaid from the revenue. Ralph.

duly

A. C. 1690. duly returned as mayor by the common hall: and, That he and the aldermen had imposed Mr. Leonard Robinson upon them as chamberlain, though another person was duly elected into that office: That divers members of the common-council were illegally excluded, and others duly elected were refused admittance. They specified other grievances, and petitioned for relief. Pilkington and his associates undertook to prove, that those allegations were either false or frivolous; and represented the petition as a contrivance of the Jacobites, to disturb the peace of the city, that the supply might be retarded, and the government distressed. In the late panic which overspread the nation, the Whigs had appeared to be the monied men, and subscribed largely for the security of the settlement they had made, while the Tories kept aloof with a suspicious caution. For this reason the court now interposed its influence in such a manner, that little or no regard was paid to their remonstrance.

Attempt
against the
marquis of
Carmarthen.

The marquis of Carmarthen lord-president, who was at the head of the Tory interest in the ministry, and had acquired great credit with the king and queen, now fell under the displeasure of the opposite faction; and they resolved (if possible) to revive his old impeachment. The earl of Shrewsbury, and thirteen other leading men, had engaged in this design. A committee of lords was appointed to examine precedents, and enquire whether impeachments continued in statu quo from parliament to parliament. Several such precedents were reported; and violent debates ensued: but, the marquis eluded the vengeance of his enemies, in consequence of the following question, “Whether the earls of Salisbury and Peterborough, who had been impeached in the former parliament, for being reconciled to the church of
“ Rome,

"Rome, shall be discharged from their bail?" A. C. 1690.

The house resolved in the affirmative, and several lords entered a protest. The commons having finished a bill for appointing commissioners to take and state the public accounts; and having chosen the commissioners from among their own members, sent it up to the house of lords. There the earl of Rochester moved, that they should add some of their number to those of the commons: they accordingly chose an equal number by ballot; but, Rochester himself being elected, refused to act: the others followed his example, and the bill passed without alteration. On the fifth day of January, the king put an end to the session with a speech, in which he thanked them for the repeated instances they had exhibited of their affection to his person and government. He told them it was high time for him to embark for Holland; recommended unanimity, and assured them of his particular favour and protection. Then lord chief baron Atkins signified his majesty's pleasure, that the two houses should adjourn themselves to the thirty-first day of March.

William having settled the affairs of the nation, set out for Margate on the sixth day of January: but, the ship in which he proposed to embark, being detained by an easterly wind and hard frost, he returned to Kensington. On the sixteenth, however, he embarked at Gravesend with a numerous retinue, and set sail for Holland, under convoy of twelve ships of war, commanded by admiral Rooke. Next day, being informed by a fisherman, that he was within a league and a half of Goree, he quitted the yacht, and went into an open boat, attended by the duke of Ormond, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Portland, and Monmouth, with Overkirk, and Zuylenstein. Instead of landing immediately, they lost sight of the fleet,

The king's
voyage to
Holland.

A. C. 1690. and night coming on, were exposed in very severe weather to the danger of the enemy and the sea, which ran very high for eighteen hours, during which the king and all his attendants were drenched with sea-water. When the sailors expressed their apprehensions of perishing, the king asked, if they were afraid to die in his company? At day-break he landed on the isle of Goree, where he took some refreshment in a fisherman's hut; then he committed himself to the boat again, and was conveyed to the shore in the neighbourhood of Maeslandfluys. A deputation of the states received him at Hounsladyke; and about six in the evening he arrived at the Hague, where he was immediately complimented by the states-general, the states of Holland, the council of state, the other colleges, and the foreign ministers. He afterwards, at the request of the magistrates, made his public entry with surprising magnificence; and the Dutch celebrated his arrival with bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of tumultuous joy. He assisted at their different assemblies; informed them of his successes in England and Ireland; and assured them of his constant zeal and affection for his native country.

He assisted at a congress. Returns to England.

At a solemn congress of the confederate princes, he represented, in a set speech, the dangers to which they were exposed from the power and ambition of France; and the necessity of acting with vigour and dispatch. He declared he would spare neither his credit, forces, nor person, in concurring with their measures; and that in the spring he would come at the head of his troops to fulfil his engagements. They forthwith resolved to employ two hundred and twenty-two thousand men against France in the ensuing campaign. The proportions of the different princes and states were regulated; and the king of England agreed to furnish twenty thou-

thousand. He supplied the duke of Savoy so liberally, that his affairs soon assumed a more promising aspect. The plan of operations was settled; and they transacted their affairs with such harmony, that no dispute interrupted their deliberations. In the beginning of March, immediately after the congress broke up, the siege of Mons was undertaken by the French king in person, accompanied by the dauphin, the dukes of Orleans and Chartres. The garrison consisted of about six thousand men, commanded by the prince of Bergue; but, the besiegers carried on their works with such rapidity as they could not withstand. King William no sooner understood that the place was invested; than he ordered prince Waldeck to assemble the army, determined to march against the enemy in person. Fifty thousand men were soon collected at Halle, near Brussels; but, when he went thither he found the Spaniards had neglected to provide carriages and other necessaries for the expedition. Mean while, the burghers of Mons seeing their town in danger of being utterly destroyed by the bombs and cannon of the enemy, pressed the governor to capitulate, and even threatened to introduce the besiegers: so that he was forced to comply, and obtained very honourable conditions. William being apprised of this event, returned to the Hague, embarked for England, and arrived at Whitehall on the thirteenth day of April †.

A conspiracy against the government had been lately discovered. In the latter end of December, the master of a vessel who lived at Barking in Essex, informed the marquis of Carmarthen, that his wife had let out one of his barks to carry over some persons to France; and that they would em-

Conspiracy against the government by lord Preston and others.

† A few days before his arrival, was consumed by fire, through the great part of the palace of Whitehall negligence of a female servant.

A. C. 1690. bark on the thirtieth day of the month. This intelligence being communicated to the king and council, an order was sent to captain Billop, to watch the motion of the vessel, and secure the passengers. He accordingly boarded her at Gravesend, and found in the hold lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, a servant of the late queen, and one Elliot. He likewise seized a bundle of papers, some of which were scarce intelligible; and among the rest, two letters supposed to be written by Turner bishop of Ely to king James and his queen, under fictitious names. The whole amounted to an invitation to the French king to assist king James in reascending the throne, upon certain conditions, while William should be absent from the kingdom: but the scheme was ill-layed, and countenanced but by a very few persons of consideration, among whom the chiefs were the earl of Clarendon, the bishop of Ely, lord Preston, his brother Mr. Graham, and Penn the famous quaker. Notwithstanding the outcries which had been made against the severities of the late government, Preston and his accomplice Ashton, were tried at the Old Bailey for compassing the death of their majesties king William and queen Mary; and their trials were hurried on without any regard to their petitions for delay. Lord Preston alledged in his defence, that the treasons charged upon him were not committed in the county of Middlesex, as laid in the indictment, that none of the witnesses declared he had any concern in hiring the vessel; that the papers were not found upon him; that there ought to be two credible witnesses to every fact, whereas the whole proof against him rested on similitude of hands and mere supposition. He was nevertheless found guilty. Ashton behaved with great intrepidity and composure. He owned his purpose of going to France, in pursuance of a promise he had made to
 general

general Warden, who, on his death-bed, conjured him to go thither and finish some affairs of consequence which he had left there depending; and with a view to recover a considerable sum of money due to himself. He denied that he was privy to the contents of the papers found upon him; he complained of his having been denied time to prepare for his trial; and called several persons to prove him a protestant of exemplary piety and irreproachable morals. These circumstances had no weight with the court. He was brow-beaten by the bench, and found guilty by the jury, as he had the papers in his custody: yet there was no privy proved; and the Whig party themselves had often expressly declared, that of all sorts of evidence, that of finding papers in a person's possession is the weakest, because no man can secure himself from such danger. Ashton suffered with equal courage and decorum. In a paper which he delivered to the sheriff, he owned his attachment to king James; he witnessed to the birth of the prince of Wales; denied his knowledge of the contents of the papers that were committed to his charge; complained of the hard measure he had met with from the judges and the jury, but forgave them in the sight of heaven. This man was celebrated by the nonjurors as a martyr to loyalty; and they boldly affirmed, that his chief crime in the eyes of the government, was his having among his baggage, an account of such evidence as would have been convincing to all the world, concerning the birth of the prince of Wales, which by a great number of people was believed supposititious*. Lord Preston obtained a

Burnet.
State tracts.
Burchet.
Tindal.
Ralph.

* To one of the pamphlets published on this occasion, is annexed a petition to the present government, in the name of king James's adherents, importing that some grave and learned person should be authorized to compile a treatise shewing the grounds of William's title; and in case the performance

A. C. 1690. pardon; Elliot was not tried, because no evidence appeared against him; the earl of Clarendon was sent to the Tower, where he remained some months, and he was afterwards confined to his own house in the country: an indulgence which he owed to his consanguinity with the queen, who was his first cousin. The bishop of Ely, Graham, and Penn absconded; and a proclamation was issued for apprehending them as traitors.

The king fills up the vacant bishoprics.

This prelate's being concerned in a conspiracy, furnished the king with a plausible pretence for filling up the vacant bishoprics. The deprived bishops had been given to understand, that an act of parliament might be obtained to excuse them from taking the oaths, provided they would perform their episcopal functions; but, as they declined this expedient, the king resolved to fill up their places at his return from Holland. Accordingly the archbishopric of Canterbury was conferred upon doctor Tillotson †, one of the most learned, moderate, and virtuous ecclesiastics of the age, who did not accept of this promotion without great reluctance, because he foresaw that he should be exposed to the slander and malevolence of that party which espoused the cause of his predecessor. The other vacant sees were given to divines of unblemished character; and the public in general seemed very well satisfied with this exertion of the king's supremacy. The deprived bishops at first affected all the meekness of resignation. They remembered those shouts of popular approbation,

should carry conviction along with it, they would submit to that title, as they had hitherto opposed it from a principle of conscience. The best answer that could be made to th's summons, was Locke's book upon government,

which appeared at this period. Ralph. † Beveridge was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells, Fowler to that of Gloucester, Cumberland to Peterborough, Moore to Norwich, Grove to Chichester, and Patrick to Ely.

by

by which they had been animated in the persecution they suffered under the late government; and they hoped the same cordial would support them in their present affliction: but, finding the nation cold in their concern, they determined to warm it by argument and declamation. The press groaned with the efforts of their learning and resentment; and every essay was answered by their opponents. The nonjurors affirmed that christianity was a doctor of the cross; that no pretence whatever could justify an insurrection against the sovereign; that the primitive christians thought it their indispensable duty to be passive under every invasion of their rights; that non-resistance was the doctrine of the English church, confirmed by all the sanctions that could be derived from the laws of God and man. The other party not only supported the natural rights of mankind, and explained the use that might be made of the doctrine of non-resistance, in exciting fresh commotions, but they also argued, that if passive obedience was right in any instance, it was conclusively so with regard to the present government; for the obedience required by scripture was indiscriminate, "The powers that be, are ordained of God—let every soul be subject to the higher powers." From these texts they inferred, that the new oaths ought to be taken without scruple; and that those who refused them, concealed party under the cloak of conscience. On the other hand, the fallacy and treachery of this argument were demonstrated. They said it levelled all distinctions of justice and duty; that those who taught such doctrines attached themselves solely to possession, howsoever unjustly acquired; that if twenty different usurpers should succeed one another, they would recognize the last, notwithstanding the allegiance they had so solemnly sworn to his predecessor, like the fawn-

4. C. 1691. ing spaniel that followed the thief who mounted his master's horse, after having murdered the right owner. They also denied the justice of a lay deprivation, and with respect to church government started the same distinctions "De jure and De facto," which they had formerly made in the civil administration. They had even recourse to all the bitterness of invective against Tillotson and the new bishops, whom they reviled as intruders and usurpers; but their acrimony was chiefly directed against Dr. Sherlock, who had been one of the most violent sticklers against the revolution, but thought proper to take the oaths upon the retreat of king James from Ireland. They branded him as an apostate who had betrayed his cause, and published a review of his whole conduct, which proved a severe satire upon his character. Their attacks upon individuals were mingled with their vengeance against the government: and indeed the great aim of their divines, as well as of their politicians, was to sap the foundation of the new settlement. In order to alienate the minds of the people from the interests of the reigning prince, they ridiculed his character, inveighed against his measures; accused him of sacrificing the concerns of England to the advantage of his native country; and drew invidious comparisons between the wealth, the trade, the taxes of the last and of the present reign. To frustrate these efforts of the malcontents, the court employed their engines to answer and recriminate; all sorts of informers were encouraged and caressed; in a proclamation issued against papists and other disaffected persons, all magistrates were enjoined to make search and apprehend those who should, by seditious discourses and libels, presume to defame the government. Thus the revolutioners commenced the professed enemies of those very arts and practices which had enabled

enabled them to bring their scheme to perfection. A. C. 1691.

The presbyterians in Scotland acted with such folly, violence, and tyranny, as rendered them equally odious and contemptible. The transactions in their general assembly were carried on with such peevishness, partiality, and injustice, that the king dissolved it by an act of state, and convoked another for the month of November in the following year. The episcopal party promised to enter heartily into the interests of the new government, to keep the Highlanders quiet, and induce the clergy to acknowledge and serve king William, provided he would balance the power of Melvill and his partisans in such a manner as would secure them from violence and oppression; provided the episcopal ministers should be permitted to perform their functions among those people by whom they were beloved; and that such of them as were willing to mix with the presbyterians in their judicatories, should be admitted without any severe imposition in point of opinion. The king, who was extremely disgusted at the presbyterians, relished the proposal; and young Dalrymple, son of lord Stair, was appointed joint secretary of state with Melvill. He undertook to bring over the majority of the Jacobites, and a great number of them took the oaths; but at the same time they maintained a correspondence with the court of St. Germans, by the connivance of which they submitted to William, that they might be in a condition to serve James the more effectually. The Scottish parliament was adjourned by proclamation to the sixteenth day of September. Precautions were taken to prevent any dangerous communication with the continent; a committee was appointed to put the kingdom in a posture of defence;

to

A. C. 1691. to exercise the powers of the regency, in securing the enemies of the government: and the earl of Home, with Sir Peter Frazer and Sir Æneas Macpherson, was apprehended and imprisoned.

Campaign
in Flanders.

The king having settled the operations of the ensuing campaign in Ireland, where general Ginckle exercised the supreme command, manned his fleet by dint of pressing sailors, to the incredible annoyance of commerce, left the queen as before at the helm of government in England, returned to Holland, accompanied by lord Sidney secretary of state, the earls of Marlborough and Portland, and began to make preparations for taking the field in person. On the thirtieth day of May, the duke of Luxemburg having passed the Scheld at the head of a large army, took possession of Halle, and gave it up to plunder, in sight of the confederates, who were obliged to throw up intrenchments for their preservation. At the same time the marquis De Boufflers, with a considerable body of forces, intrenched himself before Liege, with a view to bombard that city. In the beginning of June, king William took upon himself the command of the allied army, by this time reinforced in such a manner as to be superior to the enemy. He forthwith detached the count de Tilly, with ten thousand men to the relief of Liege, which was already reduced to ruins and desolation by the bombs, bullets, and repeated attacks of Boufflers, who now thought proper to retreat to Dinant. Tilly having thus raised the siege and thrown a body of troops into Huy, rejoined the confederate army, which had been augmented even since his departure with six thousand men from Brandenburg, and ten thousand Hessians, commanded by the landgrave in person. Such was the vigilance of Luxemburg, that William could not avail himself of his superiority. In vain he exhausted

exhausted his invention in marches, counter-marches, and stratagems, to bring on a general engagement: the French marshal avoided it with such dexterity as baffled all his endeavours. In the course of this campaign, the two armies twice confronted each other; but they were situated in such a manner that neither could begin the attack without a manifest disadvantage. While the king lay encamped at Court-sur-heure, a soldier, corrupted by the enemy, set fire to the fuses of several bombs, the explosion of which might have blown up the whole magazine, and produced infinite confusion in the army, had not the mischief been prevented by the courage of the men who guarded the artillery: even while the fuses were burning they disengaged the waggons from the line, and overturned them down the side of a hill; so that the communication of the fire was intercepted. The person who made this treacherous attempt being discovered, owned he had been employed for this purpose by the duke of Luxemburg. He was tried by a court-martial, and suffered the death of a traitor. King William quitting Court-sur-heure, encamped upon the plain of St. Girard, where he remained till the fourth day of September, consuming the forage and exhausting the country. Then he passed the Sambre near Jemeppe, while the French crossed it at La Basferre, and both armies marched towards Enghien. The enemy perceiving the confederates were at their heels, proceeded to Gramont, passed the Dender, and took possession of a strong camp between Aeth and Oudenarde; William followed the same route, and encamped between Aeth and Leuse. While he continued in this post, the Hessian forces and those of Liege, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, separated from the army and passed the Meuse at Namur; then

A. C. 1697. the king returned to the Hague, leaving the command to prince Waldeck, who forthwith removed to Leuse, and on the twentieth day of the month began his march to Cambron. Luxemburg, who watched his motions with a curious eye, found means to attack him in his retreat so suddenly, that his rear was surpris'd and defeated, though the French were at last oblig'd to retire: the prince continued his route to Cambron, and in a little time both armies retir'd into winter-quarters. In the mean time the duke De Noailles besieg'd and took Urgel in Catalonia, while a French squadron, commanded by the count D'Etrees, bombard'd Barcelona and Alicant.

Progress of
the French
in Piedmont.

The confederates had propos'd to act vigorously in Italy against the French; but the season was far advanced before they were in a condition to take the field. The emperor and Spain had undertaken to furnish troops to join the duke of Savoy, and the maritime powers contributed their proportion in money. The elector of Bavaria was nominat'd to the supreme command of the imperial forces in that country; the marquis de Leganez, governor of the Milanese, acted as trustee for the Spanish monarch; duke Schomberg, lately created duke of Leinster, managed the interest of William as king of England and stadtholder, and command'd a body of the Vaudois pay'd by Great Britain. Before the German auxiliaries arriv'd, the French had made great progress in their conquests. Catinat made himself master of Villa-Franca, Nice, and some other fortifications; then he reduc'd Villana and Carmagnola, and detach'd the marquis de Feuquieres to invest Coni, a strong fortress garrison'd by the Vaudois and French refugees. The duke of Savoy was now reduc'd to the brink of ruin. He saw almost all his places of strength in the possession of the enemy: Coni was
besieg'd:

besieged: and La Hoguette, another French general, had forced the passes of the valley of Aoste; so that he had free admission into the Verceillois and the frontiers of the Milanese. Turin was threatened with a bombardment; the people were dispirited and clamorous; and their sovereign lay with his little army encamped on the hill of Montcallier, from whence he beheld his towns taken and his palace of Rivoli destroyed. Duke Schomberg exhorted him to act on the offensive, and give battle to Catinat, while that officer's army was weakened by detachments; and prince Eugene supported his remonstrance: but this proposal was vehemently opposed by the marquis de Leganez, who foresaw that if the duke should be defeated, the French would penetrate into the territories of Milan. The relief of Coni, however, was undertaken by prince Eugene, who began his march for that place with a convoy guarded by two and twenty hundred horse: at Magliano he was reinforced by five thousand militia; and Bulonde, who commanded at the siege, no sooner heard of his approach than he retired with the utmost precipitation, leaving behind some pieces of cannon, mortars, bombs, arms, ammunition, tents, provisions, utensils, with all his sick and wounded. When he joined Catinat, he was immediately put under arrest, and afterwards cashiered with disgrace. Hogutte abandoned the valley of Aoste; Feuquieres was sent with a detachment to change the garrison of Casal, and Catinat retired with his army towards Villa Nova d'Aste.

The miscarriage of the French before Coni affected Louvois the minister of Lewis so deeply, that he could not help shedding tears when he communicated the event to his master, who told him, with great composure, that he was spoiled by good fortune. But the retreat of the French from
Piedmont

Election of a
new Pope.

A. C. 1691. Piedmont had a still greater influence over the resolutions of the conclave at Rome, then sitting for the election of a new pope in the room of Alexander VIII. who died in the beginning of February. Notwithstanding the power and intrigues of the French faction, headed by the cardinal D'Etrees, the affairs of Piedmont had no sooner taken this turn, than the Italians joined the Spanish and imperial interest, and cardinal Pignatelli, a Neapolitan, was elected pontiff. He assumed the name of Innocent, in honour of the last pope, known by that appellation, and adopted all his maxims against the French monarch. When the German auxiliaries arrived, under the command of the elector of Bavaria, the confederates resolved to give battle to Catinat; but he repassed the Po, and sent couriers to Versailles to solicit a reinforcement. Then prince Eugene invested Carmagnola, and carried on the siege with such vigour, that in eleven days the garrison capitulated. Mean while the marquis de Hoquincourt undertook the conquest of Montmelian, and reduced the town without much resistance. The castle, however, made such a vigorous defence, that Catinat marched thither in person; and, notwithstanding all his efforts, the place held out till the second day of December, when it surrendered on honourable conditions.

The emperor's success against the Turks,

This summer produced nothing of importance on the Rhine. The French endeavoured to surprize Mentz, by maintaining a correspondence with one of the emperor's commissioners; but this being discovered, their design was frustrated. The imperial army, under the elector of Saxony, passed the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Manheim; and the French crossing the same river at Philippsburg, reduced the town of Portzheim in the marquisate of Baden-Doullach. The execution of the scheme projected by the emperor for this campaign, was

was prevented by the death of his general the elector of Saxony, which happened on the second day of September. His affairs wore a more favourable aspect in Hungary, where the Turks were totally defeated by prince Lewis of Baden on the banks of the Danube. The Imperialists afterwards undertook the siege of Great Waradin in Transylvania; but this was turned into a blockade, and the place was not surrendered till the following spring. The Turks were so dispirited by the defeat, by which they had lost the grand vizir, that the emperor might have made peace upon very advantageous terms: but his pride and ambition overshot his success. He was weak, insolent, and superstitious; he imagined that now the war of Ireland was almost extinguished, king William, with the rest of the allies, would be able to humble the French power, though he himself should not co-operate with heretics, whom he abhorred; and that, in the mean time, he should not only make an entire conquest of Transylvania, but also carry his victorious arms to the gates of Constantinople, according to some ridiculous prophecy by which his vanity had been flattered. The Spanish government was become so feeble; that, rather than be at the expence of defending the Netherlands, it offered to deliver the whole country to king William, either as monarch of England or stadtholder of the United Provinces. He declined this offer, because he knew the people would never be reconciled to a protestant government: but he proposed that the Spaniards should confer the administration of Flanders upon the elector of Bavaria, who was ambitious of signaling his courage, and able to defend the country with his own troops and treasure. This proposal was relished by the court of Spain: the emperor imparted it to the elector, who accepted the office without hesitation; and he

was

1691. was immediately declared governor of the Low Countries by the council of state at Madrid. King William, after his return from the army, continued some time at the Hague, settling the operations of the ensuing campaign; and embarking in the Maese, landed in England on the nineteenth day of October.

Affairs of
Ireland.

Before we explain the proceedings in parliament, it will be necessary to give a detail of the late transactions in Ireland. In the beginning of the season the French king had sent a large supply of provision, cloaths, and ammunition, for the use of the Irish at Limerick, under the conduct of monsieur St. Ruth, accompanied by a good number of French officers, furnished with commissions from king James, though St. Ruth issued all his orders in the name of Lewis. Tyrconnel had arrived in January with three frigates and nine vessels, loaded with succours of the same nature; otherwise the Irish could not have been so long kept together. Nor indeed could these supplies prevent them from forming separate and independent bands of Rapparees, who plundered the country, and committed the most shocking barbarities. The lords justices, in conjunction with general Ginckle, had taken every step their prudence could suggest, to quiet the disturbances of the country, and prevent such violence and rapine, of which the soldiers in king William's army were not intirely innocent. The justices had issued proclamations, denouncing severe penalties against those who should countenance or conceal such acts of cruelty and oppression: they promised to protect all papists who should live quietly within a certain frontier line; and Ginckle gave the catholic rebels to understand, that he was authorized to treat with them, if they were inclined to return to their duty. Before the armies took the field, several skirmishes had

had been fought between parties; and these had always turned out so unfortunate to the enemy, that their spirits were quite depressed, while the confidence of the English rose in the same proportion.

St. Ruth and Tyrconnel were joined by the Rapparees, and general Ginckle was reinforced by Mackay, with those troops which had reduced the Highlanders in Scotland. He, in the beginning of June, marched from Mullingar to Ballymore, which was garrisoned by a thousand men under colonel Bourke, who, when summoned to surrender, returned an evasive answer. But, when a breach was made in the place, and the besiegers began to make preparations for a general assault, his men layed down their arms, and submitted at discretion. The fortification of this place being repaired and augmented, the general left a garrison for its defence, and advanced to Athlone, situated on the other side of the Shannon, and supported by the Irish army encamped almost under its walls. The English town, on the hither side of the river, was taken sword in hand; and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raised against the Irish town; and several unsuccessful attempts were made to force the passage of the bridge, which was defended with great vigour. At length it was resolved, in a council of war, that a detachment should pass at a ford, a little to the left of the bridge, though the river was deep and rapid, the bottom foul and stony, and the pass guarded by a bastion erected for that purpose. The forlorn hope consisted of sixty grenadiers in armour, headed by captain Sandys, and two lieutenants. They were seconded by another detachment, and this was supported by six battalions of infantry. Never was a more desperate service, nor was ever exploit performed with more

General
Ginckle re-
duces Ath-
lone.

A. C. 1691.

valour and intrepidity. They passed twenty abreast, in the face of the enemy, through an incessant shower of balls, bullets, and grenades. Those who followed them took possession of the bridge, and laid planks over the broken arch. pontoons were fixed at the same time, that the troops might pass in different places. The Irish were amazed, confounded, and abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; so that, in half an hour, it was wholly secured by the English, who did not lose above fifty men in this attack. Mackay, Terteau, and Tollemache, exhibited proofs of the most undaunted courage in passing the river; and general Ginckle, for his conduct, intrepidity, and success on this occasion, was created earl of Athlone. When St. Ruth was informed by express, that the English had entered the river, he said, it was impossible they should pretend to take a town which he covered with his army; and that he would give a thousand pistols they would attempt to force a passage. Sarsfield insisted upon the truth of the intelligence, and pressed him to send succours to the town: he ridiculed this officer's fears, and some warm expostulation passed between them. Being at length convinced that the English were in possession of the place, he ordered some detachments to drive them out again; but, the cannon of their own works being turned against them, they found the task impracticable: and that very night their army decamped. St. Ruth, after a march of ten miles, took post at Aghrim, and having by draughts from garrisons augmented his army to five and twenty thousand men, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement.

Defeats the
Irish at
Aghrim,

Ginckle having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle, though his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand;
and

and the Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation. St. Ruth had made an admirable disposition, and taken every precaution that military skill could suggest. His center extended along a rising ground, uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication, and fronted by a large bog almost impassable. His right was fortified with intrenchments, and his left secured by the castle of Aghrim. He harangued his army in the most pathetic strain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of heresy, in recovering their antient honours and estates, and in restoring a pious king to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural usurper. He employed the priests to enforce his exhortations, to assure the men that they might depend upon the prayers of the church; and that, in case they should fall in battle, the saints and angels would convey their souls to heaven. They are said to have sworn upon the sacrament, that they would not desert their colours, and to have received an order that no quarter should be given to the French heretics in the army of the prince of Orange. Ginckle had encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Suir, within three miles of the enemy; and, after having reconnoitred their posture, resolved, with the advice of a council of war, to attack them on Sunday the twelfth day of July. The necessary orders being given, the army passed the river at two fords and a stone bridge, and advancing to the edge of the great bog, began about twelve o'clock to force the two passages, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with surprising fury, and the horse were several times repulsed; but, at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of some field-pieces. The day was now so far advanced,

A. C. 1691. that the general determined to postpone the battle till next morning; but, perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At six o'clock in the evening, the left wing of the English advanced to the right of the Irish, from whom they met with such a warm and obstinate reception, that it was not without the most surprising efforts of courage and perseverance, that they at length obliged them to give ground; and even that they lost by inches. St. Ruth seeing them in danger of being overpowered, immediately detached succours to them from his center and left wing. Mackay no sooner perceived them weakened by these detachments, than he ordered three battalions to skirt the bog, and attack them on the left, while the center advanced through the middle of the morasses, the men wading up to the waist in mud and water. After they had reached the other side, they found themselves obliged to ascend a rugged hill, fenced with hedges and ditches; and these were lined with musqueteers, supported at proper intervals with squadrons of cavalry. They made such a desperate resistance, and fought with such impetuosity, that the assailants were repulsed into the middle of the bog with great loss; and St. Ruth exclaimed, "Now will I drive the English to the gates of Dublin." In this critical conjuncture, Tollemache came up with a fresh body to sustain them, rallied the broken troops, and renewed the charge with such vigour, that the Irish gave way in their turn, and the English recovered the ground they had lost, though they found it impossible to improve their advantage. Mackay brought a body of horse and dragoons to the assistance of the left wing; and first turned the tide of battle in favour of the English. Major-general Rouvigny, who had behaved

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haved with great gallantry during the whole action, advanced with five regiments of cavalry to support the center, when St. Ruth perceiving his design, resolved to fall upon him in a dangerous hollow way, which he was obliged to pass. For this purpose he began to descend Kircommodon-hill with his whole reserve of horse; but in his way was killed by a cannon ball. His troops immediately halted: and his guards retreated with his body. His fate dispirited the troops, and produced such confusion as Sarsfield could not remedy; for tho' he was next in command, he had been at variance with St. Ruth since the affair at Athlone, and was ignorant of the plan he had concerted. Rouvigny having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank; and bore down all before him with surprising impetuosity: the center redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; and then their whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The foot fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took the route by the highway to Loughneagh: both were pursued by the English cavalry, who for four miles made a terrible slaughter. In the battle, which lasted two hours, and pursuit, above four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken, together with all their baggage, tents, provision, ammunition, and artillery, nine and twenty pair of colours, twelve standards, and almost all the arms of the infantry. In a word, the victory was decisive; and not above eight hundred of the English were killed upon the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great confusion to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hope of receiving such succours from France as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of

A. C. 1691. a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation, and incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised to submit to the new government, rather than totally ruin themselves and their families.

undertakes
the siege of
Limerick.

Immediately after the battle, detachments were sent to reduce Portumny, Bonnachar, and Moor-castle, considerable passes on the Shannon, which were accordingly secured. Then Ginckle advanced to Galway, which he summoned to surrender; but he received a defiance from lord Dillon and general D'Uffone, who commanded the garrison. The trenches were immediately opened; a fort which commanded the approaches to the town, was taken by assault; six regiments of foot, and four squadrons of horse, passed the river on pontoons; and the place being wholly invested, the governor thought proper to capitulate. The garrison marched out with honours of war, and was allowed safe-conduct to Limerick. Ginckle directed his march to the same town, which was the only post of consequence that now held out for king James. Within four miles of the place he halted, until the heavy cannon could be brought from Athlone. Hearing that Lutterel had been seized by the French general D'Uffone, and sentenced to be shot for having proposed to surrender, he sent a trumpet to tell the commander, that if any person should be put to death for such a proposal, he would make retaliation on the Irish prisoners. On the twenty-fifth day of August, the enemy were driven from all their advanced posts: captain Cole, with a squadron of ships, sailed up the Shannon, and his frigates anchored in sight of the town. On the twenty-sixth day of the month the batteries were opened, and a line of contravallation was formed: while the Irish army lay encamped on the other side

side of the river on the road to Killalow, and the fords were guarded with four regiments of their dragoons. On the fifth day of September, after the town had been almost laid in ruins by the bombs, and large breaches made in the walls by the battering cannon; the guns were dismounted, the out-forts evacuated, and such other motions made as indicated a resolution to abandon the siege. The enemy expressed their joy in loud acclamations; but this was of short continuance. In the night the besiegers began to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river, about a mile higher up than the camp; and this work was finished before morning. A considerable body of horse and foot had passed when the alarm was given to the enemy, who were seized with such consternation, that they threw down their arms and betook themselves to flight, leaving behind them their tents, baggage, two pieces of cannon, and a standard. The bridge was immediately removed nearer the town, and fortified; all the fords and passes were secured; and the batteries continued firing incessantly till the twenty-second day of the month, when Ginckle passed over with a division of the army, and fourteen pieces of cannon. About four in the afternoon, the grenadiers attacked the forts that commanded Thomond-bridge, and carried them sword in hand, after an obstinate resistance. The garrison had made a sally from the town to support them; and this detachment was driven back with such precipitation, that the French officer on command in that quarter, fearing the English would enter pell-mell with the fugitives, ordered the bridge to be drawn up, leaving his own men to the fury of a victorious enemy. Six hundred were killed; two hundred taken prisoners, including many officers; and a great number was drowned in the Shannon.

A. C. 1691.

The French and Irish obtain an honourable capitulation.

Then the English made a lodgment within ten paces of the bridge-foot; and the Irish seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and colonel Waghop signified their Resolution to Scravenmore and Rouvigny: hostages were exchanged; a negotiation was immediately begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides of the river. The lords-justices arrived in the camp on the first day of October; and on the fourth the capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in the kingdom that were still in the hands of the Irish. The Roman catholics were restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of religion as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons whatever were entitled to the protection of these laws, and restored to the possession of their estates, privileges, and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their majesties king William and queen Mary, excepting, however, certain persons who were forfeited or exiled. This article even extended to all merchants of Limerick, or any other garrison possessed by the Irish, who happened to be abroad, and had not bore arms since the declaration in the first year of the present reign, provided they should return within the term of eight months. All the persons comprised in this and the foregoing article, were indulged with a general pardon of all attainders, outlawries, treasons, misprisions of treason, premunires, felonies, trespasses, and other crimes and misdemeanours whatsoever, committed since the beginning of the reign of James II. and the lord-justices promised to use their best endeavours towards the reversal of such attainders and outlawries as had passed against

any of them in parliament. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or impleaded on either side, for any trespass, or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses, he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in these articles, was authorized to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limerick and other garrisons, were permitted to remove their goods and chattels, without search, visitation, or payment of duty. The lords justices, promised to use their best endeavours, that all persons comprehended in this capitulation, should for eight months be protected from all arrests and executions for debt or damage: they undertook, that their majesties should ratify these articles within the space of eight months; and use their endeavours, that they might be ratified and confirmed in parliament. The subsequent article was calculated to indemnify colonel John Brown, whose estate and effects had been seized for the use of the Irish army, by Tyrconnel and Sarsfield, which last had been created lord Lucan by king James, and was now mentioned by that title. All persons were indulged with free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country, except England and Scotland. All officers and soldiers in the service of king James, comprehending even the Rapparees, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the places of embarkation, to be conveyed to the continent with the French officers and troops. They were furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water; and general Ginckle engaged to provide seventy ships, if necessary, for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their

A. C. 1691.

their officers, and to serve as a convoy to the fleet. It was stipulated, That the provisions and forage for their subsistence should be payed for on their arrival in France: and, That hostages should be given for this indemnification, as well as for the return of the ships: That all the garrisons should march out of their respective towns and fortresses, with the honours of war: That the Irish should have liberty to transport nine hundred horses: and; That that those who should choose to stay behind, might dispose of themselves according to their own fancy, after having surrendered their arms to such commissioners as the general should appoint: That all prisoners of war should be set at liberty on both sides: That the general should provide two vessels to carry over two different persons to France, with intimation of this treaty: and that none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom, should be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence. This is the substance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Irish Roman catholics consider as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. The town of Limerick was surrendered to Ginckle; but both sides agreed, that the two armies should intrench themselves, until the Irish should embark, that no disorder might arise from a communication.

Twelve thousand Irish catholics are transported to France.

The protestant subjects of Ireland were extremely disgusted at these concessions made in favour of vanquished rebels, who had exercised such acts of cruelty and rapine. They complained, that they themselves, who had suffered for their loyalty to king William, were neglected, and obliged to sit down with their losses, while their enemies, who had shed so much blood in opposing his government, were indemnified by the articles of the capitulation, and even favoured with particular indulgences. They were dismissed with the honours of

war;

war; they were transported at the government's expence, to fight against the English in foreign countries: an honourable provision was made for the Rapparees, who were professed banditti; the Roman catholic interest in Ireland obtained the sanction of regal authority; attainders were overlooked, forfeitures annulled, pardons extended, and laws set aside, in order to effect a pacification. Ginckle had received orders to put an end to the war at any rate, that William might convert his whole influence and attention to the affairs of the continent. When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for their being duly executed, about two thousand Irish foot and three hundred horse, began their march for Cork, where they proposed to take shipping for France, under the conduct of Sarsfield; but, three regiments refusing to quit the kingdom, delivered up their arms, and dispersed to their former habitations. Those who remained at Limerick embarked on the seventh day of November, in French transports; and sailed immediately to France, under convoy of a French squadron which had arrived in the bay of Dingle immediately after the capitulation was signed. Twelve thousand men chose to undergo exile from their native country, rather than submit to the government of king William. When they arrived in France, they were welcomed by a letter from James, who thanked them for their loyalty; told them they should still serve under his commission and command; and that the king of France had already given orders for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

The reduction of Ireland being thus completed, baron Ginckle returned to England, where he was solemnly thanked by the house of commons for his great services, after he had been created earl of Athlone

*Meeting of
the English
parliament.*

A. C. 1691. Athlone by his majesty. When the parliament met on the twenty-second day of October, the king in his speech insisted upon the necessity of sending a strong fleet to sea, early in the season, and of maintaining a considerable army to annoy the enemy abroad, as well as to protect the kingdom from insult and invasion; for which purposes, he said, sixty-five thousand men would be barely sufficient. Each house presented an address of congratulation upon his majesty's safe return to England, and the reduction of Ireland: they promised to assist him to the utmost of their power, in prosecuting the war with France; and, at the same time, drew up addresses to the queen, acknowledging her prudent administration during his majesty's absence. Notwithstanding this appearance of cordiality and complaisance, a spirit of discontent had insinuated itself into both houses of parliament, and even infected great part of the nation.

Discontent
of the na-
tion.

A great number of individuals who wished well to their country, could not, without anxiety and resentment, behold the interest of the nation sacrificed to foreign connections, and the king's favour so partially bestowed upon Dutchmen, in prejudice of his English subjects. They observed, that the number of forces he demanded was considerably greater than that of any army which had ever been payed by the public, even when the nation was in the most imminent danger: that, instead of contributing as allies to the maintenance of the war upon the continent, they had embarked as principals, and bore the greatest part of the burden, though they had the least share of the profit. They even insinuated, that such a standing army was more calculated to make the king absolute at home, than to render him formidable abroad; and the secret friends of the late king did not fail to enforce these insinuations. They renewed their animad-

animadversions upon the disagreeable part of his character; they dwelt upon his proud reserve, his sullen silence, his imperious disposition, and his base ingratitude, particularly to the earl of Marlborough, whom he had dismissed from all his employments, immediately after the signal exploits he had performed in Ireland. The disgrace of this nobleman was partly ascribed to the freedom with which he had complained of the king's undervaluing his services, and partly to the intrigues of his wife, who had gained an ascendancy over the princess Anne of Denmark, and is said to have employed her influence in fomenting a jealousy between the two sisters. The malcontents of the whiggish faction, enraged to find their credit declining at court, joined in the cry which the Jacobites had raised against the government. They scrupled not to say, that the arts of corruption were shamefully practised, to secure a majority in parliament: that the king was as tender of the prerogative as any of his predecessors had ever been: and, that he even ventured to admit Jacobites into his council, because they were the known tools of arbitrary power. These reflections alluded to the earls of Rochester and Ranelagh, who, with Sir Edward Seymour, had been lately created privy-counsellors. Rochester entertained very high notions of regal authority; he proposed severity as one of the best supports of government; was clear in understanding, violent in his temper, and incorrupt in his principles. Ranelagh was a man of parts, and pleasure, who possessed the most plausible and winning address; and was capable of transacting the most important and intricate affairs, in the midst of riot and excess. He had managed the revenue of Ireland in the reign of Charles II. enjoyed the office of pay-master in the army of
king

A. C. 1691. king James; and maintained the same footing under the government of William and Mary. Sir Edward Seymour was the proudest commoner in England, and the boldest orator that ever filled the speaker's chair. He was intimately acquainted with the business of the house, and knew every individual member so exactly, that with one glance of his eye he could prognosticate the fate of every motion. He had opposed the court with great acrimony, questioned the king's title, censured his conduct, and reflected upon his character. Nevertheless, he now became a poselyte, and was brought into the treasury.

Transactions in parliament.

The commons voted three millions, four hundred and eleven thousand, six hundred and seventy-five pounds for the use of the ensuing year; but the establishment of funds for raising these supplies was retarded, partly by the ill humour of the opposition, and partly by intervening affairs that diverted the attention of the commons. Several eminent merchants presented a petition to the house against the East-India company, charging them with manifold abuses; at the same time, a counter-petition was delivered by the company, and the affair referred to the examination of a committee appointed for that purpose. After a minute enquiry into the nature of the complaints, the commons voted certain regulations with respect to the stock and the traffic; and resolved to petition his majesty, that, according to the said regulations, the East-India company should be incorporated by charter. The committee was ordered to bring in a bill for this establishment; but divers petitions being presented against it, and the company's answers proving unsatisfactory, the house addressed the king to dissolve it, and grant a charter to a new company. He said it was an affair of great impor-

tance to the trade of the kingdom; therefore he would consider the subject, and in a little time return a positive answer. The parliament was likewise amused by a pretended conspiracy of the papists in Lancashire, to raise a rebellion, and restore James to the throne. Several persons were seized, and some witnesses examined; but nothing appeared to justify the information. At length, one Fuller, a prisoner in the King's-bench, offered his evidence, and was brought to the bar of the house of commons, where he produced some papers. He obtained a blank pass from the king for two persons, who, he said, would come from the continent to give evidence. He was afterwards examined at his own lodgings, where he affirmed, that colonel Thomas Delaval, and James Hayes, were the witnesses for whom he had procured the pass and the protection. Search was made for them according to his direction; but no such persons were found. Then the house declared Fuller a notorious impostor, cheat, and false accuser. He was, at the request of the commons, prosecuted by the attorney-general, and sentenced to stand in the pillory; a disgrace which he accordingly underwent.

A bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason having been laid aside by the lords in the preceding session, was now again brought upon the carpet, and passed the lower house. The design of this bill was, to secure the subject from the rigours to which he had been exposed in the late reigns. It provided; That the prisoner should be furnished with a copy of his indictment, as also of the panel, ten days before his trial: and, That his witnesses should be examined upon oath, as well as those of the crown. The lords, in their own behalf added a clause, enacting, That upon the trial of any peer or peers, for treason or misprision of

Disputes concerning the bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason.

A. C. 1697. of treason, all the peers who have a right to sit and vote in parliament, should be duly summoned to assist at the trial: That this notice should be given twenty days before the trial: and, That every peer so summoned, and appearing, should vote upon the occasion. The commons rejected this amendment: and a free conference ensued. The point was argued with great vivacity on both sides, which served only to inflame the dispute, and render each party the more tenacious of their own opinion. After three conferences that produced nothing but animosity, the bill was dropped; for, the commons resolved to bear the hardships of which they complained, rather than be relieved at the expence of purchasing a new privilege to the lords; and without this advantage the peers would not contribute to their relief.

The next object that engrossed the attention of the lower house, was the miscarriage of the fleet during the summer's expedition. Admiral Ruffel, who commanded at sea, having been joined by a Dutch squadron, failed in quest of the enemy; but, as the French king had received undoubted intelligence, that the combined squadrons were superior to his navy in number of ships and weight of metal, he ordered Tourville to avoid an engagement. This officer acted with such vigilance, caution, and dexterity, as baffled all the endeavours of Ruffel, who was moreover perplexed with obscure and contradictory orders. Nevertheless, he cruised all summer either in the channel or in soundings, for the protection of the trade, and in particular secured the homeward-bound Smyrna fleet, in which the English and Dutch had a joint concern, amounting to four millions sterling. Having scoured the channel, and run along great part of the French coast, he returned to Torbay in the
be-

beginning of August, and received fresh orders to put out to sea again, notwithstanding his repeated remonstrances against exposing large ships to the storms that always blow about the time of the equinox. He therefore sailed back to soundings, where he continued cruising till the second day of September, when he was overtaken by a violent tempest, which drove him into the channel, and obliged him to make for the port of Plymouth. The weather being hazy, he reached the sound with great difficulty; the Coronation, a second-rate, foundered at anchor off the Ram-Head; the Harwich, a third-rate, bulged upon the rocks, and perished; two others ran ashore, but were got off with little damage; the whole fleet was scattered and distressed. The nation murmured at the supposed misconduct of the admiral, and the commons subjected him to an inquiry: but, when they examined his papers, orders, and instructions, they perceived he had adhered to them with great punctuality, and thought proper to drop the prosecution, out of tenderness to the ministry. Then the house took into consideration some letters which had been intercepted in a French ship taken by Sir Ralph Delaval. Three of these are said to have been written by king James, and the rest sealed with his seal. They related to the plan of an insurrection in Scotland and in the northern parts of England; and Legg lord Dartmouth, with one Crew, being mentioned in them as agents and abettors in the design, warrants were immediately issued against them. Crew absconded, but lord Dartmouth was committed to the Tower. Lord Preffon was examined touching some cyphers which they could not explain, and pretending ignorance, was imprisoned in Newgate, from whence, however, he soon obtained his release. The funds for the supplies of the ensuing year being established, and

A. C. 1691: several acts * passed relating to domestic regulations, the king, on the twenty-fourth day of February, closed the session with a short speech, thanking the parliament for their demonstrations of affection in the liberal supplies they had granted, and communicating his intention of repairing speedily to the continent. Then the two houses, at his desire, adjourned themselves to the twelfth day of April, and the parliament was afterwards prorogued to the twenty ninth day of May, by proclamation †.

The King disobliges the presbyterians of Scotland.

The king had suffered so much in his reputation by his complaisance to the presbyterians in Scotland, and was so displeas'd with the conduct of that stubborn sect of religionists, that he thought proper to admit some prelatists into the administration. Johnson, who had been sent envoy to the elector of Brandenburg, was recalled, and, with the master of Stair, made joint secretary of Scotland; Melvill, who had declined in his importance, was made lord privy-seal of that kingdom; Tweedale was constituted lord chancellor; Crawford retained the office of president in the council; and Lothian

* The laws enacted in this session were these: an act for abrogating the oath of supremacy in Ireland, and appointing other oaths; an act for taking away clergy from some offenders, and bringing others to punishment; an act against deer-stealing; an act for repairing the highways, and settling the rates of carriage of goods; an act for the relief of creditors against fraudulent devices; an act for explaining and supplying the defects of former laws for the settlement of the poor; an act for the encouragement of the breeding and feeding of cattle; and an act for ascertaining the tythes of hemp and flax.

† In the course of this session Dr. Wellwood, a Scottish physician, was taken into custody, and reprimanded

at the bar of the house of commons, for having reflected upon that house in a weekly paper intitled Mercurius Reformatus; but, as it was written in defence of the government, the king appointed him one of his physicians in ordinary. At this period Charles Montague, afterwards earl of Halifax, distinguished himself in the house of commons by his fine talents and eloquence. The privy-seal was committed to the earl of Pembroke: lord viscount Sidney was created lord lieutenant of Ireland; Sir John Sommers appointed attorney-general; and the see of Lincoln, vacant by the death of Barlow, conferred upon Dr. Thomas Tennisson, who had been recommended to the king, a divine remarkable for his piety and moderation.

was appointed high commissioner to the general assembly. The parliament was adjourned to the fifteenth day of April, because it was not yet compliant enough to be assembled with safety; and the episcopal clergy were admitted to a share of the church government. These measures, instead of healing the divisions, served only to inflame the animosity of the two parties. The episcopalians triumphed in the king's favour, and began to treat their antagonists with insolence and scorn; the presbyterians were incensed to see their friends disgraced, and their enemies distinguished by the royal indulgence. They insisted upon the authority of the law, which happened to be upon their side: they became more than ever sour, surly, and implacable; they refused to concur with the prelatists, or abate in the least circumstance of discipline; and the assembly was dissolved, without any time or place assigned for the next meeting. The presbyterians pretended an independent right of assembling annually, even without a call from his majesty; they therefore adjourned themselves, after having protested against the dissolution. The king resented this measure as an insolent invasion of the prerogative, and conceived an aversion to the whole sect, who in their turn began to lose all respect for his person and government.

As the Highlanders were not yet totally reduced, the earl of Braidalbin undertook to bring them over, by distributing sums of money among their chiefs; and fifteen thousand pounds were remitted from England for this purpose. The clans being informed of this remittance, suspected that the earl's design was to appropriate to himself the best part of the money, and when he began to treat with them made such extravagant demands, that he found his scheme impracticable. He was therefore obliged to refund the sum he had received;

The earl of Braidalbin undertakes for the submission of the Highlanders.

A. C. 1691

ceived; and he resolved to wreak his vengeance with the first opportunity on those who had frustrated his intention. He who chiefly thwarted his negotiation was Macdonald of Glencoe; and his opposition arose from a private circumstance, which ought to have had no effect upon a treaty that regarded the public weal. Macdonald had plundered the lands of Braidalbin during the course of hostilities; and this nobleman insisted upon being indemnified for his losses from the other's share of the money which he was employed to distribute. The Highlander not only refused to acquiesce in these terms, but, by his influence among the clans, defeated the whole scheme, and the earl in revenge devoted him to destruction. King William had by proclamation offered an indemnity to all those who had been in arms against him, provided they would submit and take the oaths by a certain day, and this was prolonged to the end of the present year, with a denunciation of military execution against those who should hold out after the end of December. Macdonald, intimidated by this declaration, repaired on the very last day of the month to Fort William, and desired that the oaths might be tendered to him by colonel Hill, governor of that fortress. As this officer was not vested with the power of a civil magistrate, he refused to administer them; and Macdonald set out immediately for Inverary, the county-town of Argyle. Though the ground was covered with snow, and the weather intensely cold, he travelled with such diligence, that the term prescribed by the proclamation was but one day elapsed when he reached the place, and addressed himself to Sir Colin Campbell sheriff of the county, who, in consideration of his disappointment at Fort William, was prevailed upon to administer the oaths to him and his adherents. Then they returned to their own habitations

tions in the valley of Glencoe, in full confidence of being protected by the government, to which they had so solemnly submitted.

Braidaibin had represented Macdonald at court as an incorrigible rebel, and a ruffian inured to bloodshed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country, nor live peaceably under any sovereign. He observed that he had payed no regard to the proclamation; and proposed that the government should sacrifice him to the quiet of the kingdom, in extirpating him, with his family and dependents, by military execution. His advice was supported by the suggestions of the other Scottish ministers; and the king, whose chief virtue was not humanity, signed a warrant for the destruction of those unhappy people, tho' it does not appear that he knew of Macdonald's submission. An order for this barbarous execution, signed and counter-signed by his majesty's own hand, being transmitted to the master of Stair, secretary for Scotland, he sent particular directions to Livingstone, who commanded the troops in that kingdom, to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the sword, charging him to take no prisoners, that the scene might be more terrible. In the month of February captain Campbell of Glenlyon, by virtue of an order from major Duncan, marched into the valley of Glencoe, with a company of soldiers belonging to Argyle's Highland regiment, on pretence of levying the arrears of the land-tax and hearth-money. When Macdonald demanded whether they came as friends or enemies, he answered as friends, and promised upon his honour that neither he nor his people should sustain the least injury. In consequence of this declaration, he and his men were received with the most cordial hospitality, and lived fifteen days with the men of the valley, in all the appearance of the most unreserved friendship. At length the fatal

Massacre of
Glencoe.

A. C. 1691. period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having passed the day together, parted about seven in the evening, with mutual professions of the warmest affection. The younger Macdonald, perceiving the guards doubled, began to suspect some treachery, and communicated his suspicion to his brother; but neither he nor the father would harbour the least doubt of Campbell's sincerity; nevertheless, the two young men went forth privately to make further observations. They overheard the common soldiers say they liked not the work; that though they would have willingly fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it base to murder them in cool blood; but that their officers were answerable for the treachery. When the youths hastened back to apprise their father of the impending danger, they saw the house already surrounded; they heard the discharge of muskets, the shrieks of women and children, and, being destitute of arms, secured their own lives by immediate flight. The savage ministers of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber, and shot him through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died next day, distracted by the horror of her husband's fate. The laird of Auchintrinken, Macdonald's guest, who had three months before this period submitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without question; a boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, and offering to serve him for life, was stabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a subaltern officer. Eight and thirty persons suffered in this manner, the greater part of whom were surprised in their beds, and hurried into eternity before they had time to implore the divine mercy. The design was to butcher all the males under seventy that lived in the valley, the number of whom amounted to two hundred: but some of the detachments did not arrive soon enough to secure the passes;

so that one hundred and sixty escaped. Campbell A. C. 1691. having perpetrated this brutal massacre, ordered all the houses to be burned, made a prey of all the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, and left the helpless women and children, whose fathers and husbands he had murdered, naked and forlorn, without covering, food, or shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at the distance of six long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, surrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of immediate death from the swords of those who had sacrificed their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure such a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste before they could receive the least comfort or assistance. This barbarous massacre, performed under the sanction of king William's authority, though it answered the immediate purpose of the court, by striking terror into the hearts of the Jacobite Highlanders, excited the horror of all those who had not renounced every sentiment of humanity, and produced such an aversion to the government, as all the arts of a ministry could never totally surmount. A detail of the particulars was published at Paris, with many exaggerations; and the Jacobites did not fail to expatiate upon every circumstance, in domestic libels and private conversation. The king, alarmed at the outcry which was raised upon this occasion, ordered an inquiry to be set on foot, and dismissed the master of Stair from his employment of secretary; he likewise pretended that he had subscribed the order amidst a heap of other papers, without knowing the purport of it; but, as he did not severely punish those who had made his authority subservient to their own cruel revenge, the imputation stuck fast to his character; and the High-

Bornet.
Story.
Kennet.
Life of king
William.
Nav. hist.
Ralph.
Voltaire

A. C. 1692. landers, though terrified into silence and submission, were inspired with the most implacable resentment against his person and administration.

Preparations for a descent upon England.

A great number in both kingdoms waited impatiently for an opportunity to declare in behalf of their exiled monarch, who was punctually informed of all these transactions, and endeavoured to make his advantage of the growing discontent. King William having settled the domestic affairs of the nation, and exerted uncommon care and assiduity in equipping a formidable fleet, embarked for Holland on the fifth day of March, and was received by the states-general with expressions of the most cordial regard. While he was employed in promoting the measures of the grand confederacy, the French king resolved to invade England in his absence, and seemed heartily engaged in the interest of James, whose emissaries in Britain began to bestir themselves with uncommon assiduity, in preparing the nation for his return. One Lang, who was imprisoned on suspicion of distributing his commissions, had the good fortune to be released, and the papists of Lancashire dispatched him to the court of St. Germain, with an assurance that they were in a condition to receive their old sovereign. He returned with advice that king James would certainly land in the spring; and that colonel Parker and other officers should be sent over with full instructions, touching their conduct at and before the king's arrival. Parker accordingly repaired to England, and made the Jacobites acquainted with the whole scheme of a descent, which Lewis had actually concerted with the late king. He assured them, that their lawful sovereign would once more visit his British dominions, at the head of thirty thousand effective men, to be embarked at La Hogue; that the transports were already prepared, and a strong squadron equipped for their convoy;

convoy; he therefore exhorted them to be speedy and secret in their preparations, that they might be in readiness to take arms and co-operate in effecting his restoration. This officer, and one Johnson, a priest, are said to have undertaken the assassination of king William; but, before they could execute their design, he set sail for Holland.

Mean while, James addressed a letter to several lords, who had been formerly members of his council, as well as to divers ladies of quality and distinction, intimating the pregnancy of his queen, and requiring them to attend as witnesses at the labour. He took notice of the injury his family and honour had sustained, from the cruel aspersions of his enemies concerning the birth of his son; and as providence had now favoured him with an opportunity of refuting the calumny of those who affirmed that the queen was incapable of child-bearing, he assured them, in the name of his brother the French king, as well as upon his own royal word, that they should have free leave to visit his court, and return after the labour †. This invitation, however, no person would venture to accept. He afterwards employed his emissaries in circulating a printed declaration, importing that the king of France had enabled him to make another effort to retrieve his crown; and that, although he was furnished with a number of troops sufficient to untie the hands of his subjects, he did not intend to deprive them of their share in the glory of restoring their lawful king and their

Declaration
of king
James.

† The letter was directed not only to privy counsellors, but also to the dutchesses of Somerset and Beaufort, the marchioness of Halifax, the countesses of Derby, Mulgrave, Rutland, Brooks, Nottingham, Lumley, and Danby, the ladies Fitzharding and Fretchville, those of Sir John Trevor

speaker of the house of commons, Sir Edward Seymour, Sir Christopher Mulgrave, the wives of Sir Thomas Stamford lord mayor of London, Sir William Ashurst and Sir Richard Levett the sheriffs; and lastly, to Dr. Chamberlain, the famous practitioner in midwifery.

A. C. 1692. ancient government. He exhorted the people to join his standard. He assured them that the foreign auxiliaries should behave with the most regular discipline, and be sent back immediately after his re-establishment. He observed, that when such a number of his subjects were so infatuated, as to concur with the unnatural design of the prince of Orange, he had chose to rely upon the fidelity of his English army, and refused considerable succours that were offered to him by his most christian majesty; that when he was ready to oppose force with force, he nevertheless offered to give all reasonable satisfaction to his subjects who had been misled, and endeavoured to open their eyes with respect to the vain pretences of his adversary, whose aim was not the reformation but the subversion of the government: that when he saw himself deserted by his army, betrayed by his ministers, abandoned by his favourites, and even his own children, and at last rudely driven from his own palace by a guard of insolent foreigners; he had, for his personal safety, taken refuge in France: that his retreat from the malice and cruel designs of the usurper had been construed into an abdication, and the whole constitution of the monarchy destroyed by a set of men illegally assembled, who, in fact, had no power to alter the property of the meanest subject. He expressed his hope that by this time the nation had fairly examined the account, and from the losses and enormous expence of the three last years, were convinced that the remedy was worse than the disease; that the beginning, like the first years of Nero's reign, would, in all probability, be found the mildest part of the usurpation, and the instruments of the new establishment live to suffer severely by the tyranny they had raised; that even, though the usurpation should continue during his life, an indisputable title

title would survive in his issue, and expose the kingdom to all the miseries of a civil war. He not only solicited but commanded his good subjects to join him, according to their duty and the oaths they had taken. He forbade them to pay taxes or any part of the revenue to the usurper. He promised pardon and even rewards to all those who should return to their duty, and to procure in his first parliament an act of indemnity, with an exception of certain persons † whom he now enumerated. He declared, that all soldiers who should quit the service of the usurper, and enlist under his banners, might depend upon receiving their pardon and arrears; and that the foreign troops upon laying down their arms, should be payed and transported to their respective countries. He solemnly protested that he would protect and maintain the church of England as by law established, in all her rights, privileges, and possessions; he signified his resolution to use his influence with the parliament for allowing liberty of conscience to all his subjects, as an indulgence agreeable to the spirit of the christian religion, and conducive to the wealth and prosperity of the nation. He said his principal care should be to heal the wounds of the late distractions; to restore trade, by observing the act of navigation, which had lately been so much violated in favour of strangers; to put the

† Those excepted were the duke of Ormond, the marquis of Winchester, the earls of Sunderland, Bath, Danby, and Nottingham, the lords Newport, Delamere, Wiltshire, Colchester, Cornbury, Dunblain, and Churchill; the bishops of London and St. Asaph; Sir Robert Howard, Sir John Worden, Sir Samuel Grimston, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir George Treby, Sir Basil Dixwell, Sir James Oxenden, Dr. John Tillotson, Dr. Gilbert Burnet, Francis Ruf-

sel, Richard Levinton, John Trenchard, Charles Duncomb, citizen of London; Edwards, Stapleton, and Hunt, fishermen, and all others who had offered personal indignities to him at ever-sham; or had been concerned in the barbarous murder of John Astton, Croft, or any others who had suffered death for their loyalty; and all spies or such as had betrayed his councils, during his late absence from England.

A. C. 1692. navy in a flourishing condition; and to take every step that might contribute to the greatness of the monarchy and the happiness of the people. He concluded with professions of resignation to the divine will, declaring, that all who should reject his offers of mercy, and appear in arms against him, would be answerable to Almighty God for all the blood that should be spilt, and all the miseries in which these kingdoms might be involved, by their desperate and unreasonable opposition.

Efforts of
his friends
in England.

While this declaration operated variously on the minds of the people, colonel Parker, with some other officers, enlisted men privately for the service of James, in the counties of York, Lancaster, and the bishopric of Durham; and, at the same time, Fountaine and Holman were employed in raising two regiments of horse at London, that they might join their master immediately after his landing. His partisans sent Captain Loyd with an express to the lord Melfort, containing a detail of these particulars, with an assurance that they had brought over rear-admiral Carter to the interest of his majesty. They likewise transmitted a list of the ships that composed the English fleet, and exhorted James to use his influence with the French king, that the count de Tourville might be ordered to attack them before they should be joined by the Dutch squadron. It was in consequence of this advice, that Lewis commanded Tourville to fall upon the English fleet, even without waiting for the Toulon squadron, commanded by the marquis D'Etrees. By this time James had repaired to La Hogue, and was ready to embark with his army, consisting of a body of French troops, together with some English and Scottish refugees, and the regiments which had been transported from Ireland by virtue of the capitulation of Limerick.

The ministry of England was informed of all these particulars, partly by some agents of James, who betrayed his cause, and partly by admiral Carter; who gave the queen to understand he had been tampered with; and was instructed to amuse the Jacobites with a negotiation. King William no sooner arrived in Holland, than he hastened the naval preparations of the Dutch, so as that their fleet was ready for sea sooner than it was expected; and when he received the first intimation of the projected descent, he detached general Tollemache with three of the English regiments from Holland. These, reinforced with other troops remaining in England, were ordered to encamp in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth. The queen issued a proclamation, commanding all papists to depart from London and Westminster: the members of both houses of parliament were required to meet on the twenty-fourth day of May, that she might avail herself of their advice in such a perilous conjuncture. Warrants were expedited for apprehending divers disaffected persons; and they withdrawing themselves from their respective places of abode, a proclamation was published for discovering and bringing them to justice. The earls of Scarisdale, Litchfield; and Newburgh, the lords Griffin, Forbes, Sir John Forwick, Sir Theophilus Oglethorpe, and others, found means to elude the search. The earls of Huntingdon and Marlborough were sent to the Tower; Edward Ridley, Knevitt, Hastings, and Robert Ferguson were imprisoned in Newgate. The bishop of Rochester was confined to his own house: the lords Brudenell and Fanshaw were secured: the earls of Dunmore, Middleton, and Sir Andrew Forrester, were discovered in a quaker's house, and committed to prison, with several other persons of distinction. The trained bands of London and Westminster

A. C. 1692.
Precautions taken by the queen for the defence of the nation.

were

A. C. 1692. were armed by the queen's direction, and she reviewed them in person; admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and Carter, with a squadron of eighteen sail, continued to cruize along the French coast, to observe the motions of the enemy.

Admiral
Russel puts
to sea.

On the eleventh day of May, Russel sailed from Rye to St. Helen's, where he was joined by the squadrons under Delaval and Carter. There he received a letter from the earl of Nottingham, intimating, that a report having spread of the queen's suspecting the fidelity of the sea-officers, her majesty ordered him to declare in her name, that she reposed the most entire confidence in their attachment; and believed the report was raised by the enemies of the government. The flag-officers and captains forthwith drew up a very loyal and dutiful address, which was graciously received by the queen, and published for the satisfaction of the nation. Russel being reinforced by the Dutch squadrons, commanded by Allemonde, Callenberg, and Vandergoes, set sail for the coast of France on the eighteen day of May, with a fleet of ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fire-ships. Next day about three o'clock in the morning, he discovered the enemy, under the count de Tourville, and threw out the signal for the line of battle, which by eight o'clock was formed in good order, the Dutch in the van, the blue division in the rear, and the red in the center. The French fleet did not exceed sixty-three ships of the line, and as they were to windward, Tourville might have avoided an engagement; but, he had received a positive order to fight, on the supposition that the Dutch and English squadrons had not joined. Lewis indeed was apprised of their junction before they were descried by his admiral, to whom he dispatched a countermanding order by

two several vessels; but, one of them was taken by the English, and the other did not arrive till the day after the engagement.

Tourville therefore, in obedience to the first mandate, bore down along side of Russel's own ship, which he engaged at a very small distance. He fought with great fury till one o'clock, when his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the *Rising-Sun*, that carried one hundred and four cannon, was towed out of the line in great disorder. Nevertheless, the engagement continued till three, when the fleets were parted by a thick fog. When this abated, the enemy were descried flying to the northward; and Russel made the signal for chasing. Part of the blue squadron came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them half an hour, during which admiral Carter was mortally wounded. Finding himself in extremity, he exhorted his captain to fight as long as the ship could swim; and expired with great composure. At length, the French bore away for Conquet-Road, having lost four ships in this day's action. Next day about eight in the morning, they were discovered crowding away to the westward, and the combined fleets chased with all the sails they could carry, until Russel's foretop-mast came by the board. Though he was retarded by this accident, they still continued the pursuit, and he anchored near Cape La Hague. On the twenty-second of the month, about seven in the morning, part of the French fleet was perceived near the Race of Alderney, some at anchor, and some driving to the eastward with the tide of flood. He, and the ships nearest him, immediately slipped their cables and chased. The *Rising-Sun* having lost her masts, ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burned by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the *Admirable*, another first-rate, and

He obtains a complete victory over the French fleet off La Hague.

A. C. 1692. and the Conquerant of eighty guns. Eighteen other ships of their fleet ran into La Hogue, where they were attacked by Sir George Rooke, who destroyed them, and a great number of transports loaded with ammunition, in the midst of a terrible fire from the enemy, and in sight of the Irish camp. Sir John Ashby, with his own squadron and some Dutch ships, pursued the rest of the French fleet, which escaped through the Race of Alderney, by such a dangerous passage as the English could not attempt, without exposing their ships to the most imminent hazard. This was a very mortifying defeat to the French king, who had been so long flattered with an uninterrupted series of victories; and reduced James to the lowest ebb of despondence, as it frustrated the whole scheme of his embarkation, and overwhelmed his friends in England with grief and despair. Some historians alledge, that Russel did not improve his victory with all advantages that might have been obtained before the enemy recovered of their consternation. They say, his affection to the service was in a good measure cooled by the disgrace of his friend the earl of Marlborough: that he hated the earl of Nottingham, by whose canal he received his orders: and, that he adhered to the letter rather than the spirit of his instructions. But this is a malicious imputation; and a very ungrateful return for his manifold services to the nation. He acted in this whole expedition with the genuine spirit of a British admiral. He plied from the Nore to the Downs with a very scanty wind through the dangerous sands, contrary to the advice of all his pilots; and by this bold passage effected a junction of the different squadrons, which otherwise the French would have attacked singly, and perhaps defeated. He behaved with great gallantry during the engagement; he destroyed about
fifteen

fifteen of the enemy's capital ships; in a word, he obtained such a decisive victory, that during the remaining part of the war, the French would not hazard another battle by sea with the English.

Ruffel having ordered Sir John Ashby, and the Dutch admiral Callembergh, to steer towards Havre de Grace, and endeavour to destroy the remainder of the French fleet, sailed back to St. Helen's, that the damaged ships might be refitted, and the fleet furnished with fresh supplies of provision and ammunition: but, his principal motive was to take on board a number of troops provided for a descent upon France, which had been projected by England and Holland, with a view to alarm and distract the enemy in their own dominions. The queen was so pleased with the victory, that she ordered thirty thousand pounds to be distributed among the sailors; medals to be struck in honour of the action; and the bodies of admiral Carter and captain Hastings, who had been killed in the battle, to be interred with great funeral pomp. In the latter end of July, seven thousand men, commanded by the duke of Leinster, embarked on board of transports, to be landed at St. Maloe's, Brest, or Rochfort; and the nation conceived the most sanguine hopes of this expedition. A council of war, consisting of land and sea-officers, being held on board the Breda, to deliberate upon the scheme of the ministry, the members unanimously agreed, that the season was too far advanced to put it in execution. Nevertheless, the admiral having detached Sir John Ashby with a squadron, to intercept the remains of the French fleet in their passage from St. Maloe's to Brest, set sail for La Hogue with the rest of the fleet and transports; but, in a few days the wind shifting, he was obliged to return to St. Helen's.

Troops embarked at St. Helen's for a descent upon France.

A. C. 1592.

The design
laid aside.
The troops
landed at
Ostend.

The queen immediately dispatched the marquis of Carmarthen, the earls of Devonshire, Dorset, Nottingham, and Rochester, together with the lords Sidney and Cornwallis, to consult with the admiral, who demonstrated the impracticability of making an effectual descent upon the coast of France at that season of the year. The design was therefore laid aside; and the forces were transported to Flanders. The higher the hopes of the nation had been raised by this armament, the deeper they felt their disappointment. A loud clamour was raised against the ministry, as the authors of this miscarriage. The people complained, that they were plundered and abused; that immense sums were extorted from them by the most grievous impositions: that by the infamous expedient of borrowing upon established funds, their taxes were perpetuated: that their burdens would daily increase: that their treasure was either squandered away in chimerical projects, or expended in foreign connections, of which England was naturally independent. They were the more excusable for exclaiming in this manner, as their trade had grievously suffered by the French privateers, which swarmed in the channel. In vain the merchants had recourse to the admiralty, which could not spare particular convoys, while large fleets were required for the defence of the nation. The French king having nothing further to apprehend from the English armament, withdrew his troops from the coast of Normandy; and James returned in despair to St. Germain's, where his queen had been in his absence delivered of a daughter, who was born in presence of the archbishop of Paris, the keeper of the seals, and other persons of distinction.

Lewis had taken the field in the latter end of May. On the twentieth day of that month he arrived at his camp in Flanders, with all the effeminate

nate pomp of an Asiatic emperor, attended by his women and parasitēs, his band of music, his dancers, his opera, and in a word, by all the ministers of luxury and sensual pleasure. Having reviewed his army, which amounted to above one hundred and twenty thousand men, he undertook the siege of Namur, which he invested on both sides of the Sambre, with about one half of his army, while the other covered the siege, under the command of Luxembourg. Namur is situated on the conflux of the Meuse and the Sambre. The citadel was deemed one of the strongest forts in Flanders, strengthened with a new work contrived by the famous engineer Coehorn, who now defended it in person. The prince de Barbason commanded the garrison, consisting of nine thousand men. The place was well supplied; and the governor knew that king William would make strong efforts for its relief: so that the besieged were animated with many concurring considerations. Notwithstanding these advantages, the assailants carried on their attacks with such vigour, that in seven days after the trenches were opened, the town capitulated, and the garrison retired into the citadel. King William being joined by the troops of Brandenburg and Liege, advanced to the Mehaigne, at the head of one hundred thousand effective men, and encamped within cannon-shot of Luxembourg's army, which lay on the other side of the river. That general, however, had taken such precautions, that the king of England could not interrupt the siege, nor attack the French lines without great disadvantage. The besiegers, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, and assisted by the superior abilities of Vauban their engineer, repeated their attacks with such impetuosity, that the fort of Coehorn was surrendered, after a very obstinate defence, in which he himself had been dangerously wounded. The

A. C. 1692.

The French king takes Namur in sight of king William.

A. C. 1692. citadel being thus left exposed to the approaches of the enemy, could not long withstand the violence of their operations. The two covered ways were taken by assault; and on the twentieth of May the governor capitulated, to the unspeakable mortification of king William, who saw himself obliged to lie inactive at the head of a powerful army, and be an eye witness of the loss of the most important fortress in the Netherlands. Lewis having taken possession of the place; returned in triumph to Versailles, where he was flattered with all the arts of adulation; while William's reputation suffered a little from his miscarriage, and the prince of Barbacon incurred the suspicion of treachery or misconduct.

The allies
are defeated
at Steenkirk.

Luxembourg having placed a strong garrison in Namur, detached Boufflers with a body of troops to La Bassiere, and with the rest of his army encamped at Soignies. The king of England sent off detachments towards Liege and Ghent; and on the sixth day of July posted himself at Genap, resolved to seize the first opportunity of retrieving his honour, by attacking the enemy. Having received intelligence that the French general was in motion, and intended to take post between Steenkirk and Enghien, he passed the river Senne, in order to anticipate his purpose; but, in spite of all his diligence, Luxembourg gained his point; and William encamped at Lambeque, within six miles of the French army. Here he resolved, in a council of war, to attack the enemy; and the disposition was made for that purpose. The heavy baggage he ordered to be conveyed to the other side of the Senne; and one Millevoix, a detected spy, was compelled by menaces to mislead Luxembourg with false intelligence, importing, that he needed not be alarmed at the motions of the allies, who intended next day to make a general forage. On the twenty-

twenty-fourth day of July, the army began to move from the left, in two columns, as the ground would not admit of their marching in an extended front. The prince of Wirtemberg began the attack on the right of the enemy, at the head of ten battalions of English, Danish, and Dutch infantry; and he was supported by a considerable body of British horse and foot, commanded by lieutenant-general Mackay. Tho' the ground was intersected by hedges, ditches, and narrow defiles, the prince marched with such diligence, that he was in a condition to begin the battle about two in the afternoon, when he charged the French with such impetuosity, that they were driven from their posts, and their whole camp became a scene of tumult and confusion. Luxembourg trusting to the intelligence he had received, allowed himself to be surprised; and it required the full exertion of his superior talents, to remedy the consequences of his neglect. He forthwith forgot a severe indisposition under which he happened to labour; he rallied his broken battalions; he drew up his forces in order of battle, and led them to the charge in person. The duke de Chartres, who was then in the fifteenth year of his age, the dukes of Bourbon and Vendome, the prince of Conti, and a great number of volunteers of the first quality, put themselves at the head of the household troops, and fell with great fury upon the English, who were very ill supported by count Solmes, who commanded the center of the allies. The prince of Wirtemberg had taken one of the enemy's batteries, and actually penetrated into their lines; but finding himself in danger of being overpowered by numbers, he sent an aid-de-camp twice to demand succours from Solmes, who derided his distress, saying, "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make." At length, when the king sent an express order, commanding him

A. C. 1692.

to sustain the left wing, he made a motion with his horse, which could not act while his infantry kept their ground; and the British troops, with a few Dutch and Danes, bore the whole brunt of the engagement. They fought with surprising courage and perseverance against dreadful odds; and the event of the battle continued doubtful, until Boufflers rejoined the French army with a great body of dragoons. The allies could not sustain the additional weight of this reinforcement, before which they gave way, though the retreat was made in tolerable order; and the enemy did not think proper to prosecute the advantage they had gained. In this action the confederates lost the earl of Angus, general Mackay, Sir John Lanier, Sir Robert Douglas, and many other gallant officers, together with about three thousand men left dead on the spot, a like number wounded or taken, a great many colours and standards, and several pieces of cannon.

Extravagant
rejoicings
in France
on account
of this vic-
tory.

The French reaped no solid advantage from their victory, which cost them about three thousand men, including the prince of Turenne, the marquis de Bellefonds, Tilladet, and Fermaçon, with many officers of distinction: as for Millevoix the spy, he was hanged on a tree, on the right wing of the allied army. King William retired unmolested to his own camp; and notwithstanding all his overthrows, continued a respectable enemy, by dint of invincible fortitude, and a genius fruitful in resources. That he was formidable to the French nation, even in the midst of his ill success, appears from divers undeniable testimonies, and from none more than from the extravagance of joy expressed by the people of France, on occasion of this important victory. When the princes who served in the battle returned to Paris, the roads through which they passed were almost blocked up with multitudes; and the whole air resounded with acclamation.

clamation. All the ornaments of the fashion peculiar to both sexes, adopted the name of Steenkirk; every individual who had been personally engaged in the action, was revered as being of a superior species; and the transports of the women rose almost to a degree of frenzy.

The French ministry did not entirely depend upon the fortune of the war for the execution of their revenge against king William. They likewise employed assassins to deprive him of life, in the most treacherous manner. When Louvois died, his son the marquis de Barbesieux, who succeeded him in his office of secretary, found among his papers the draught of a scheme for this purpose; and immediately revived the design by means of the chevalier deGrandval, a captain of dragons in the service. He and colonel Parker engaged one Dumont, who undertook to assassinate king William. Madame de Maintenon and Paparel, paymaster to the French army; were privy to the scheme, which they encouraged; and the conspirators are said to have obtained an audience of king James, who approved of their undertaking, and assured them of his protection; but, that unfortunate monarch was unjustly charged with the guilt of countenancing the intended murder, as they communicated nothing to him but an attempt to seize the person of the prince of Orange. Dumont actually enlisted in the confederate army; that he might have the better opportunity to shoot the king of England when he should ride out to visit the lines, while Grandval and Parker repaired to the French camp, with orders to Luxembourg to furnish them with a party of horse for the rescue of Dumont, after the blow should be struck. Whether this man's heart failed him, or he could not find the opportunity he desired, after having resided some weeks in the camp of the allies, he retired to Hanover; but still corresponded with

Conspiracy against the life of king William, hatched by the French ministry.

A. C. 1692. Grandval and Barbesieux. This last admitted one Leefdale, a Dutch baron, into the secret, and likewise imparted it to monsieur Chanlais, quartermaster-general of the French army, who animated Grandval and Leefdale with the promise of a considerable reward; and promised to co-operate with Parker for bringing off Dumont, for he still persisted in his undertaking. Leefdale had been sent from Holland on purpose to dive to the bottom of this conspiracy, in consequence of advice given by the British envoy at Hanover, where Dumont had dropped some hints that alarmed his suspicion. The Dutchman not only insinuated himself into the confidence of the conspirators, but likewise inveigled Grandval to Eyndhoven, where he was apprehended. Understanding that Dumont had already discovered the design to the duke of Zell, and that he himself had been betrayed by Leefdale, he freely confessed all the particulars, without enduring the torture; and being found guilty by a court-martial, was executed as a traitor.

Miscarriage
of a design
upon Dun-
kirk.

About this period the duke of Leinster arrived at Ostend with the troops which had been embarked at St. Helen's. He was furnished with cannon sent down the Meuse from Maestricht; he was reinforced by a large detachment from the king's camp at Gramont, under the command of general Tolle-mache. He took possession of Furnes, was joined by the earl of Portland and Mr. D'Auverquerque, and a disposition was made for investing Dunkirk; but, on further deliberation, the enterprize was thought very dangerous, and therefore layed aside. Furnes and Dixmuyde lately reduced by brigadier Ramsay, were strengthened with new works, and secured with strong garrisons. The cannon were sent back, and the troops returning to Ostend, reembarked for England. This fruitless expedition, added to the inglorious issue of the campaign, increased

increased the ill humour of the British nation. A. C. 1692.

They taxed William with having lain inactive at Gramont with an army of one hundred thousand men, while Luxembourg was posted at Courtray with half that number. They said, if he had found the French lines too strong to be forced, he might have passed the Scheld higher up, and not only layed the enemy's conquests under contribution, but even marched into the bowels of France; and they complained that Furnes and Dixmuyde were not worth the sums expended in maintaining their garrisons. On the twenty-sixth day of September, king William left the army under the command of the elector of Bavaria, and repaired to his house at Loo: in two days after his departure the camp at Gramont was broke up; the infantry marched to Marienkerke, and the horse to Gaure. On the sixteenth day of October the king receiving intelligence, that Boufflers had invested Charleroy, and Luxembourg taken post in the neighbourhood of Conde, ordered the troops to be instantly reassembled between the village of Ixells and Halle, with design to raise the siege; and repaired to Brussels, where he held a council of war, in which the proper measures were concerted. Then he returned to Holland, leaving the command with the elector of Bavaria, who forthwith began his march for Charleroy. At his approach Boufflers abandoned the siege, and moved towards Philipville. The elector having reinforced the place, and thrown supplies into Aeth, distributed his forces into winter-quarters. Then Luxembourg, who had cantoned his army between Conde, Leuze, and Tournay, returned to Paris, leaving Boufflers to command in his absence.

The allies had been unsuccessful in Flanders, and they were not fortunate in Germany. The landgrave of Hesse-Cassel undertook the siege
of

A. C. 1692.

The cam-
paign is in-
active on
the Rhine
and in Hun-
gary.

of Eberemburg, which however he was obliged to abandon. The duke de Lorges, who commanded the French forces on the Rhine, surprised, defeated, and took the duke of Wirtemberg, who had posted himself with four thousand horse near Eidelshheim to check the progress of the enemy. Count Tallard, having invested Rhinefeld, the landgrave marched to its relief with such expedition, that the French were obliged to desist, and retreat with considerable damage. The elector of Saxony had engaged to bring an army into the field; but, he complained that the emperor left the burden of the war with France upon the princes, and converted his chief power and attention to the campaign in Hungary. A jealousy and misunderstanding ensued; Schoening, the Saxon general, in his way to the hot-baths at Dablitz in Bohemia, was seized by the emperor's order, on suspicion of having maintained a private correspondence with the enemy; and very warm expostulations on this subject passed between the courts of Vienna and Dresden. Schoening was detained two years in custody; and at length released, on condition that he should never be employed again in the empire. The war in Hungary produced no event of importance. The ministry of the Ottoman Porte was distracted by factions, and the seraglio threatened with tumults. The people were tired of maintaining an unsuccessful war: the vizir was deposed; and in the midst of this confusion, the garrison of Great Waradin, which had been blocked up by the Imperialists during the whole winter, surrendered by capitulation: Lord Paget, the English ambassador at Vienna, was sent to Constantinople with powers to mediate a peace; but the terms offered by the emperor were rejected at the porte: the Turkish army lay upon the defensive, and the season was spent in a fruitless negotiation.

The

The prospect of affairs in Piedmont was favourable for the allies; but the court of France had brought the pope to an accommodation, and began to tamper with the duke of Savoy. Mr. Chanlais was sent to Turin with advantageous proposals; which, however, the duke would not accept, because he thought himself intitled to better terms; considering that the allied army in Piedmont amounted to fifty thousand effective men, while Catinat's forces were not sufficient to defend his conquests in that country. In the month of July the duke marched into Dauphine, where he plundered a number of villages and reduced the fortress of Guillestre; then passing the river Darance, he invested Ambrun, which, after a siege of nine days, surrendered on capitulation, and laid all the neighbouring towns under contribution. Here duke Schomberg, who commanded the auxiliaries in the English pay, published a declaration, in the name of king William, inviting the people to join his standard; assuring them that his master had no other design in ordering his troops to invade France, but that of restoring the noblesse to their ancient splendor, their parliaments to their former authority, and the people to their just privileges. He even offered his protection to the clergy, and to use his endeavours for reviving the edict of Nantes, which had been guaranteed by the kings of England. These offers, however, produced little effect; and the Germans ravaged the whole country, in revenge for the cruelties which the French had committed in the Palatinate. The allied army advanced from Ambrun to Gap, on the frontiers of Provence; and this place submitted without opposition. The inhabitants of Grenoble, the capital of Dauphiné, and even of Lions, were overwhelmed with consternation; and a fairer opportunity of humbling France could never occur, as that part of the kingdom had been left almost quite defenceless; but this

was

A. C. 1692. was fatally neglected, either from the spirit of diffidence, which began to prevail in the allied army, or from the indisposition of the duke of Savoy, who was seized with the small pox in the midst of this expedition; or, lastly, to his want of sincerity, which was shrewdly suspected. He is said to have maintained a constant correspondence with the court of Versailles, in complaisance to which he retarded the operations of the confederates. Certain it is, he evacuated all his conquests, and about the middle of September quitted the French territories, after having pillaged and laid waste the country through which he had penetrated*. In Catalonia the French attempted nothing of importance during this campaign, and the Spaniards were wholly inactive in that province.

The duke of Hanover created an elector of the empire.

The protestant interest in Germany acquired an accession of strength, by the creation of a ninth electorate in favour of Ernest Augustus duke of Hanover. He had, by this time, renounced all his connections with France, and engaged to enter heartily into the interest of the allies, in consideration of his obtaining the electoral dignity. King William exerted himself so vigorously in his behalf at the court of Vienna, that the emperor agreed to the proposal, in case the consent of the other electors could be procured. This assent, however, was extorted by the importunities of the king of England, whom he durst not disoblige. He was blindly bigotted to the religion of Rome, and consequently averse to a new creation that would weaken the catholic interest in the electoral college. He therefore employed his emissaries to thwart the duke's measures. Some protestant princes opposed

* At this period, queen Mary, understanding that the protestant Vaudois were destitute of ministers to preach or teach the gospel, established a fund

from her own privy purse, to maintain ten preachers, and as many school-masters, in the vallies of Piedmont.

him from motives of jealousy; and the French king used all his artifices and influence to prevent the elevation of the house of Hanover. When the duke had surmounted all this opposition, so far as to gain over a majority of the electors, new objections were started. The emperor suggested that another popish electorate should be created, to balance the advantage which the Lutherans would reap from that of Hanover; and he proposed that Austria should be raised to the same dignity: but violent opposition was made to this expedient, which would have vested the emperor with a double vote in the electoral college. At length, after a tedious negotiation, the duke of Hanover, on the nineteenth day of December, was honoured with the investiture as elector of Brunswick; created great marshal of the empire, and did homage to the emperor: nevertheless, he was not yet admitted into the college, because he had not been able to procure the unanimous consent of all the electors: †.

While king William seemed wholly engrossed by the affairs of the continent, England was distracted by domestic dissension, and overspread with vice, corruption, and profanity. Over and above the Jacobites, there was a set of malcontents, whose number daily increased. They not only murmured at the grievances of the nation, but composed and published elaborate dissertations upon the same subject. These made such impressions upon the people, already irritated by heavy burdens, distressed in their trade, and disappointed in their sanguine

False information against the earl of Marlborough, the bishop of Rochester, and others.

† In the beginning of September, the shock of an earthquake was felt in London and many other parts of England, as well as in France, Germany, and the Netherlands. Violent agitations of the same kind had happened

about two months before in Sicily and Malta; and the town of Port-royal in Jamaica was almost totally ruined by an earthquake: the place was so suddenly overflowed, that about fifteen hundred persons perished.

A. C. 1692. expectations, that the queen thought it necessary to check the progress of those writers, by issuing out a proclamation offering a reward to such as would discover seditious libellers. The earl of Marlborough had been committed to the Tower; on the information of one Robert Young, a prisoner in Newgate, who had forged that nobleman's handwriting, and contrived the scheme of an association in favour of king James, to which he affixed the names of the earls of Marlborough and Salisbury, Sprat, bishop of Rochester, the lord Cornbury, and Sir Basil Firebrace. One of his emissaries had found means to conceal this paper in a certain part of the bishop's house at Bromley in Kent, where it was found by the king's messengers, who secured the prelate in consequence of Young's information. But he vindicated himself to the satisfaction of the whole council; and the forgery of the informer was detected by the confession of his accomplice. The bishop obtained his release immediately, and the earl of Marlborough was admitted to bail in the court of king's bench.

Sources of national discontent.

So many persons of character and distinction had been imprisoned during this reign; upon the slightest suspicion, that the discontented part of the nation had some reason to insinuate, they had only exchanged one tyrant for another. They affirmed, that the Habeas Corpus act was either insufficient to protect the subject from false imprisonment, or had been shamefully misused. They expatiated upon the loss of ships, which had lately fallen a prey to the enemy; the consumption of seamen; the neglect of the fisheries; the interruption of commerce, in which the nation was supplanted by her allies; as well as invaded by her enemies; the low ebb of the kingdom's treasure exhausted in hiring foreign bottoms, and paying foreign troops to

to fight foreign quarrels; the slaughter of the best and bravest of their countrymen, whose blood had been lavishly spilt in support of connections with which they ought to have no concern. They demonstrated the mischiefs that necessarily arose from the unsettled state of the nation. They observed that the government could not be duly established, until a solemn declaration should confirm the legality of that tenure by which their majesties possessed the throne; that the structure of parliaments was deficient in point of solidity, as they existed intirely at the pleasure of the crown, which would use them no longer than they should be found necessary in raising supplies for the use of the government. They exclaimed against the practice of quartering soldiers in private houses, contrary to the ancient laws of the land, the petition of rights, and the subsequent act passed in the reign of the second Charles. They enumerated among their grievances the violation of property, by pressing transport ships into the service, without settling any fund of payment for the owners; the condition of the militia, which was equally burthensome and useles; the flagrant partiality in favour of allies, who carried on an open commerce with France, and supplied the enemy with necessaries, while the English laboured under the severest prohibitions, and were in effect the dupes of those very powers whom they protected. They dwelt upon the ministry's want of conduct, foresight, and intelligence, and inveighed against their ignorance, insolence, and neglect, which were as pernicious to the nation as if they had formed a design of reducing it to the lowest ebb of disgrace and destruction. By this time indeed, public virtue was become the object of ridicule, and the whole kingdom was overspread with immorality and corruption; towards the increase of which many concurring

A. C. 1692. ring circumstances happened to contribute. The people were divided into three parties, namely, the Williamites, the Jacobites, and the discontented revolutioners; and these factions took all opportunities to thwart, to expose, and to ridicule the measures and principles of each other: so that patriotism was laughed out of doors, as an hypocritical pretence. This contention established a belief, that every man consulted his own private interest at the expence of the public: a belief that soon grew into a maxim almost universally adopted. The practice of bribing a majority in parliament had a pernicious influence upon the morals of all ranks of people, from the candidate to the lowest borough-electer. The expedient of establishing funds of credit for raising supplies to defray the expence of government, threw large premiums and sums of money in the hands of low, sordid usurers, brokers, and jobbers, who distinguished themselves by the name of the Monied-interest. Intoxicated by this flow of wealth, they affected to rival the luxury and magnificence of their superiors; but, being destitute of sentiment and taste, to conduct them in their new career, they ran into the most absurd and illiberal extravagancies. They laid aside all decorum; became lewd, insolent, intemperate and riotous. Their example was caught by the vulgar. All principle, and even decency was gradually banished; talent lay uncultivated, and the land was deluged with a tide of ignorance and profligacy.

Diffension
between the
queen and
the princeſs
Anne of
Denmark.

King William having aſcertained the winter-quarters of the army, and concerted the operations of the enſuing campaign with the States-general, and the miniſters of the allies, ſet ſail for England on the fifteenth day of October, on the eighteenth landed at Yarmouth, was met by the queen at Newhall, and paſſed through the city of London

to Kensington, amidst the acclamations of the populace. He received a congratulatory address from the lord-mayor and aldermen, with whom he dined in public by invitation. A day of thanksgiving was appointed for the victory obtained at sea. The lutestring company was established by patent, and the parliament met on the fourth day of November. The house of lords was deeply infected with discontent, which in some measure proceeded from the dissention between the queen and her sister the princess of Denmark, who underwent every mortification that the court could inflict. Her guards were taken away; all honours which had been payed to her rank by the magistrates of Bath, where she sometimes resided, and even by the ministers of the church where she attended at divine service, were discontinued, by the express order of her majesty. Her cause was naturally espoused by those noblemen who had adhered to her in her former contest with the king, about an independent settlement; and these were now reinforced by all the friends of the earl of Marlborough, united by a double tie; for, they resented the disgrace and confinement of that lord; and thought it their duty to support the princess Anne under a persecution incurred by an attachment to his countess. The earl of Shrewsbury lived in friendship with Marlborough, and thought he had been ^{it} gratefully treated by the king; the marquis of Halifax befriended him, from opposition to the ministry; the earl of Mulgrave, for an opportunity to display his talents, and acquire that consideration which he thought due to his merit. Devonshire, Montague, and Bradford joined in the same cause, from principle; and the same pretence was used by the earls of Stamford, Monmouth, Warrington, and other Whigs; though in effect they were actuated by jealousy and resentment

A. C. 1692.

The house of lords vindicate their privileges in behalf of their imprisoned members.

ment against those by whom they had been sup-
planted. As for the Jacobites, they gladly con-
tributed their assistance to promote any scheme
that had a tendency to embroil the administra-
tion.

The king, in his speech to parliament, thanked
them for their last supplies, congratulated them
upon the victory obtained at sea, consoled them
on the bad success of the campaign by land, mag-
nified the power of France, represented the neces-
sity of maintaining a great force to oppose it; and
demanded subsidies equal to the occasion. He ex-
pressed his reluctance to load them with additional
burthens, which, he said, could not be avoided
without exposing his kingdom to inevitable de-
struction. He desired their advice towards less-
ening the inconvenience of exporting money for the
payment of the forces. He intimated a design of
making a descent upon France; declared he had
no aim but to make them a happy people; and
that he would again cheerfully expose his life for
the welfare of the nation. The lords, after an
adjournment of three days, began with great
warmth to assert their privileges, which they con-
ceived had been violated in the cases of the earl of
Marlborough, and the other noblemen, who had
been apprehended, committed to prison, and after-
wards admitted to bail by the court of king's
bench. These circumstances being discussed
in a violent debate, the house ordered lord Lucas
constable of the Tower, to produce the warrants of
commitment, and the clerk of the king's bench to
deliver the affidavit of Aaron Smith, the coun-
solicitor, upon which the lords had been remanded
to prison. At the same time, the whole affair was
referred to a committee, empowered to send for
persons, papers, and records. The judges were
ordered to attend: Aaron Smith was examined
touching

touching the evidence against the committed lords. The committee reported their general resolution, which produced a vehement dispute. The opinion of the judges was unsatisfactory to both parties: the debate was referred to a committee of the whole house, in which it was resolved, and declared, as the sense of that assembly, that in pursuance of the Habeas-corpus act, it was the duty of the judges and goal-delivery, to discharge the prisoner on bail, if committed for high-treason, unless it be made appear, upon oath, that there are two witnesses against the said prisoner, who cannot be produced in that term, sessions, or general goal-delivery. They likewise resolved, it was the intention of the said statute, that in case there should be more than one prisoner to be bailed or remanded, there must be oath made, that there are two witnesses against each prisoner, otherwise he cannot be remanded to prison. These resolutions were entered in the books, as standing directions to all future judges, yet not without great opposition from the court-members. The next debate turned upon the manner in which the imprisoned lords should be set at liberty. The contest became so warm, that the courtiers began to be afraid, and proposed an expedient, which was put in practice. The house adjourned to the seventeenth day of the month, and its next meeting was given to understand, that the king had discharged the imprisoned noblemen. After another warm debate, a formal entry was made in the journals, importing, That the house being informed of his majesty's having given directions for discharging the lords under bail in the king's bench, the debate about that matter ceased. The resentment of the peers being thus allayed, they proceeded to take his majesty's speech into consideration.

A. C. 1692.

The commons present addresses to the king and queen.

The commons having voted an address of thanks, and another, praying that his majesty's foreign alliances should be layed before them, voted a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason. They passed a vote of thanks to admiral Russel, his officers and seamen, for the victory they had obtained; then proceeded to an inquiry, Why that victory had not been pursued? Why the descent had not been made? And why the trade had not been better protected from the enemy's cruisers? The admiral having justified his own conduct, they commanded the lords of the admiralty to produce copies of all the letters and orders which had been sent to the admiral: they ordered Russel to lay before them his answers; and the commissioners of the transports, victuallers, and office of ordnance, to deliver in an account of their proceedings. Then they presented addresses to the king and queen, acknowledging the favour of God in restoring him to his people; congratulating him upon his deliverance from the snares of his open and secret enemies; and assuring him they would, according to his majesty's desire in his most gracious speech, be always ready to advise and assist him in the support of his government. The queen was thanked for her gracious and prudent administration during his majesty's absence; they congratulated her on their signal deliverance from a bold and cruel design formed for their destruction, as well as on the glorious victory which her fleet had gained; and they assured her that the grateful sense they had of their happiness under her government, should always be manifested in constant returns of duty and obedience.

They acquit admiral Russel, and resolve to advise his majesty.

After this formal compliment, the house, instead of proceeding to the supplies, insisted upon perusing the treaties, public accounts, and estimates, that they might be in a condition to advise,

as well as to assist his majesty. Being indulged^{A. C. 1692.} with those papers, they passed a previous vote, that a supply should be given; then they began to concert their articles of advice. Some of the members loudly complained of partiality to foreign generals; and particularly reflected upon the influence of count Solmes, and his misconduct at Steenkirk. After some warm altercation, the house resolved one article of their advice should be, That his majesty would be pleased to fill up such vacancies as should happen among the general officers, with such only as were natives of his dominions; and that the commander in chief of the English should be an Englishman. Their next resolution implied, That many of the great affairs of the government having been for some time past unsuccessfully managed, the house should advise his majesty to prevent such mischiefs for the future, by employing men of knowledge, ability, and integrity. Individual members inveighed bitterly against cabinet-councils, as a novelty in the British system of government, by which the privy-council was justled out of its province. They complained that all the grievances of the nation proceeded from the vitious principles of the ministry: they observed, that he who opposed the establishment, could not be expected to support it with zeal. The earl of Nottingham was mentioned by name; and the house resolved that his majesty should be advised; to employ in his councils such persons only whose principles obliged them to support his rights against the late king, and all other pretenders. Marlborough's interest still predominated among the commons. His friend Ruffel acquitted himself to the satisfaction of the house, and shifted the blame of the miscarriage upon his enemy the earl of Nottingham, by declaring that

A. C. 1691. twenty days elapsed between his first letter to that nobleman and his lordship's answer. The earl's friends, of whom there was a great number in the house, espoused his cause with great vigour, and even recriminated upon Ruffel; so that a very violent debate ensued. Both parties agreed that there had been mismanagement in the scheme of a descent. It was moved, that one cause of the miscarriage was the want of giving timely and necessary orders, by those to whom the management of the affair was committed. The house divided, and it was carried in the affirmative by one voice only. At the next sitting of the committee, Sir Richard Temple proposed they should consider how to pay the forces abroad, by means of English manufactures, without exporting money. They resolved that the house should be moved to appoint a committee to take this expedient into consideration. Sir Francis Winnington was immediately called upon to leave the chair, and the speaker resumed his place. All that had been done was now void, as no report had been made; and the committee was dissolved. The house, however, revived it, and appointed a day for its sitting; but before it could resume its deliberations, admiral Ruffel moved for its being adjourned, and all its purposes were defeated.

They comply with all the demands of the ministry.

The court-agents had by this time interposed, and secured a majority by the infamous arts of corruption. The commons no longer insisted upon their points of advice. Their whole attention was now centered in the article of assistance. They granted about two millions for the maintenance of three and thirty thousand seamen, the building of some additional ships of war, and the finishing of Plymouth-dock; and seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds to supply the deficiency of the quarterly

terly poll. The estimates of the land-service were not discussed without tedious debates, and warm disputes. The ministry demanded fifty-four thousand men, twenty thousand of whom should be kept at home for the defence of the nation, while the rest should serve abroad in the allied army. Many members declared their aversion to a foreign war, in which the nation had no immediate concern, and so little prospect of success. Others agreed, that the allies should be assisted on the continent with a proportion of British forces; but that the nation should act as auxiliary, not as a principal, and pay no more than what the people would cheerfully contribute to the general expence. These reflections, however, produced no other effect than that of prolonging the debate. Ministerial influence had surmounted all opposition; The house voted the number of men demanded. Such was their servile complaisance, that when they examined the treaties by which the English and Dutch contracted equally with the German princes, and found that, notwithstanding these treaties, Britain bore two-thirds of the expence, they overlooked this flagrant instance of partiality, and enabled the king to pay the proportion. Nay, their maxims were so much altered, that, instead of prosecuting their resentment against foreign generals, they assented to a motion that the prince of Wirtemberg, the major-generals Tetteau and La Forest, who commanded the Danish troops in the pay of the States-general, should be indulged with such an addition to their appointments as would make up the difference between the pay of England and that of Holland. Finally, they voted above two millions for the subsistence of the land-forces, and for defraying extraordinary expences attending the war upon the continent, in-

A.C. 1692. cluding subsidies to the electors of Saxony and Hanover.

The lords present an address of advice to the king.

The house of lords, mean while, was not free from animosity and contention. The Marlborough faction exerted themselves with great vivacity. They affirmed it was the province of their house to advise the sovereign: like the commons, they insisted upon the king's having asked their advice, because he had mentioned that word in his speech, though he never dreamed they would catch at it with such eagerness. They moved, that the task of digesting the articles of advice, should be undertaken by a joint committee of both houses: but all the dependents of the court, including the whole bench of bishops, except Watson of St. David's; were marshalled to oppose this motion, which was rejected by a majority of twelve; and this victory was followed with a protest of the vanquished. Notwithstanding this defeat, they prosecuted their scheme of giving advice; and, after much wrangling and declamation, the house agreed in an address or remonstrance, advising and beseeching his majesty, That the commanding officer of the British forces should be an Englishman: That English officers might take rank of those in the confederate armies who did not belong to crowned heads: That the twenty thousand men to be left for the defence of the kingdom should be all English, and commanded by an English general: That the practice of pressing men for the fleet should be remedied; and such officers as were guilty of that practice should be cashiered and punished: And lastly, That no foreigners should sit at the board of ordnance. This address was presented to the king, who received it coldly, and said he would take it into consideration.

Then the lords resolved to inquire into the miscarriage of the proposed descent, and called for all the

the papers relating to that affair: but the aim of the majority was not so much to rectify the errors of the government, as to screen Nottingham, and censure Ruffel. That nobleman produced his own book of entries, together with the whole correspondence between him and the admiral, whom he verbally charged with having contributed to the miscarriage of the expedition. This affair was referred to a committee. Sir John Ashby was examined. The house directed the earl to draw up the substance of his charge; and these papers were afterwards delivered to a committee of the commons, at a conference, by the lord president and the rest of the committee above. They were offered for the inspection of the commons, as they concerned some members of that house, by whom they might be informed more fully of the particulars they contained. At another conference, which the commons demanded, their committee declared, in the name of the house, That they had read and well considered the papers which their lordships had sent them, and which they now returned: That, finding Mr. Ruffel, one of their members, often mentioned in the said papers, they had unanimously resolved, That admiral Ruffel, in his command of the fleets, during the last summer's expedition, had behaved with fidelity, courage, and conduct. The lords, irritated at this declaration, and disappointed in their resentment against Ruffel, desired a free conference between the committees of both houses, in which the earl of Rochester told the commons, he was commanded by the house of lords to inform them, that their lordships looked upon the late vote and proceedings of the lower house, in returning their papers, to be irregular and unparliamentary, as they had not communicated to their lordships the lights they had received, and the reasons upon which their

A. C. 1692.

Dispute between the lords and commons concerning admiral Ruffel.

A. C. 1692. their vote was founded. A paper to the same purport was delivered to colonel Granville, who promised to present it to the commons, and make a faithful report of what his lordship had said. Thus the conference ended, and the inquiry was discontinued.

The commons address the king. They establish the land-tax and other impositions.

The lower house seemed to be as much exasperated against the earl of Nottingham as the lords were incensed at Russell. A motion was made, that his majesty should be advised to appoint such commissioners of the board of admiralty as were of known experience in maritime affairs. Although this was over-ruled, they voted an address to the king, praying, that for the future all orders for the management of the fleet, might pass through the hands of the said commissioners; a protest by implication against the conduct of the secretary. The consideration of ways and means was the next object that engrossed the attention of the lower house. They resolved that a rate of four shillings in the pound, for one year, should be charged up on all lands, according to their yearly value, as also upon all personal estates, and upon all offices and employments of profit, other than military officers in the army or navy. The act founded on this resolution empowered the king to borrow money on the credit of it, at seven per cent. They further enabled him to raise one million on the general credit of the exchequer, by granting annuities. They laid several new duties on a variety of imports. They renewed the last quarterly poll, providing, that in case it did not produce three hundred thousand pounds, the deficiencies might be made up by borrowing on the general credit of the exchequer. They continued the impositions on wine, vinegar, tobacco, and sugar, for five years; and those on East-India goods for four years. They laid a new imposition of eight per cent. on the capital stock of the East-India company, estimated at seven

seven hundred and forty-four thousand pounds; of one per cent. on the African; of five pounds on every share of the stock belonging to the Hudson's bay company; and they impowered his majesty to borrow five hundred thousand pounds on these funds, which were expressly established for maintaining the war with vigour*.

The money-bills were retarded in the upper house, by the arts of Halifax, Mulgrave, and other malcontents: They grafted a clause on the land-tax bill, importing, that the lords should tax themselves. It was adopted by the majority, and the bill sent with this amendment to the commons, by whom it was unanimously rejected, as a flagrant attempt upon their privileges. They demanded a conference, in which they declared, that the clause in question was a notorious encroachment upon the right the commons possessed, of regulating all matters relating to supplies granted by parliament. When this report was debated in the house of lords, the earl of Mulgrave displayed uncommon powers of eloquence and argument, in persuading the house, that by yielding to this claim of the commons, they would divest themselves of their true greatness, and nothing would remain but the name and shadow of a peer, which was but a pageant. Notwithstanding all his oratory, the lords relinquished their clause, declaring at the same time, that they had agreed to pass the bill without alteration, merely in regard to the present urgent state of affairs, as being otherwise of opinion, that they had a right to insist upon their clause. A formal complaint being made in the house of commons against the pamphlet intitled, King William and Queen Mary Conquerors, as containing assertions

Burnet's
Pastoral letter
burned
by the hang-
man.

* The French king hearing how liberally William was supplied, exclaimed with some emotion, " My little Louis d'pr must carry it. souper the prince of Orange is fixed in the saddle---but, no matter, the last Louis d'pr must carry it.

A. C. 1692. of dangerous consequence to their majesties, to the liberty of the subject, and the peace of the kingdom, the licenser and printer were taken into custody. The book being examined, they resolved that it should be buried by the hands of the common hangman; and, that the king should be moved to dismiss the licenser from his employment. The same sentence they pronounced upon a pastoral letter of bishop Burnet, in which this notion of conquest had been at first asserted. The lords, in order to manifest their sentiments on the same subject, resolved, That such an assertion was highly injurious to their majesties, inconsistent with the principles on which the government was founded, and tending to the subversion of the rights of the people. Bohun the licenser was brought to the bar of the house, and discharged upon his own petition, after having been reprimanded on his knees by the speaker.

Proceedings
of the lower
house a-
gainst the
practice of
kidnapping
men for the
service.

Several members having complained that their servants had been kidnapped, and sent to serve as soldiers in Flanders, the house appointed a committee to enquire into the abuses committed by pressmasters; and a suitable remonstrance was presented to the king, who expressed his indignation at this practice, and assured the house that the delinquents should be brought to exemplary punishment. Understanding, however, in the sequel, that the methods taken by his majesty for preventing this abuse had not proved effectual, they resumed their enquiry, and proceeded with uncommon vigour on the information they received. A great number of persons who had been pressed, were discharged by order of the house; and captain Winter, the chief undertaker for this method of recruiting the army, was carried by the serjeant before the lord chief-justice, that he might be prosecuted according to law.

Before

Before the heats occasioned by this unpopular expedient were allayed, the discontent of the nation was further inflamed by complaints from Ireland, where lord Sidney was said to rule with despotic authority. These complaints were exhibited by Sir Francis Brewster, Sir William Gore, Sir John Macgill, lieutenant Stafford, Mr. Stone, and Mr. Kerne. They were examined at the bar of the house, and delivered an account of their grievances in writing. Both houses concurred in this inquiry, which being finished, they severally presented addresses to the king. The lords observed, That there had been great abuses in disposing of the forfeited estates: That protections had been granted to the Irish not included in the articles of Limerick; so that protestants were deprived of the benefit of the law against them: That the quarters of the army had not been payed according to the provision made by parliament: That a mayor had been imposed upon the city of Dublin for two years successively, contrary to the antient privileges and charter: That several persons accused of murder had been executed without proof; and one Sweetman, the most guilty, discharged without prosecution. The commons spoke more freely in their address; they roundly explained the abuses and mismanagement of that government, by exposing the protestant subjects to the free quarter and violence of a licentious army; by recruiting the troops with Irish papists, who had been in open rebellion against his majesty; by granting protections to Irish Roman catholics, whereby the course of the law was stopped; by reversing outlawries for high-treason, not comprehended in the articles of Limerick; by letting the forfeited estates at under-value, to the prejudice of his majesty's revenue; by embezzling the stores left in the towns and garrisons by the late king James, as well as the effects belonging to forfeited

A. C. 1692.
The two houses address the king on the grievances of Ireland.

A. C. 1692. feited estates, which might have been employed for the better preservation of the kingdom; and, finally, by making additions to the articles of Limerick, after the capitulation was signed, and the place surrendered. They most humbly besought his majesty to redress these abuses, which had greatly encouraged the papists, and weakened the protestant interest in Ireland. The king graciously received both addresses, and promised to pay a particular regard to all remonstrances that should come from either house of parliament: but no material step was taken against the lords Sidney, Athlone, and Coningsby, who appeared to have engrossed great part of the forfeitures by grants from the crown; and even commissioner Culliford, who had been guilty of the most grievous acts of oppression, escaped with impunity.

The End of the Eighth Volume.

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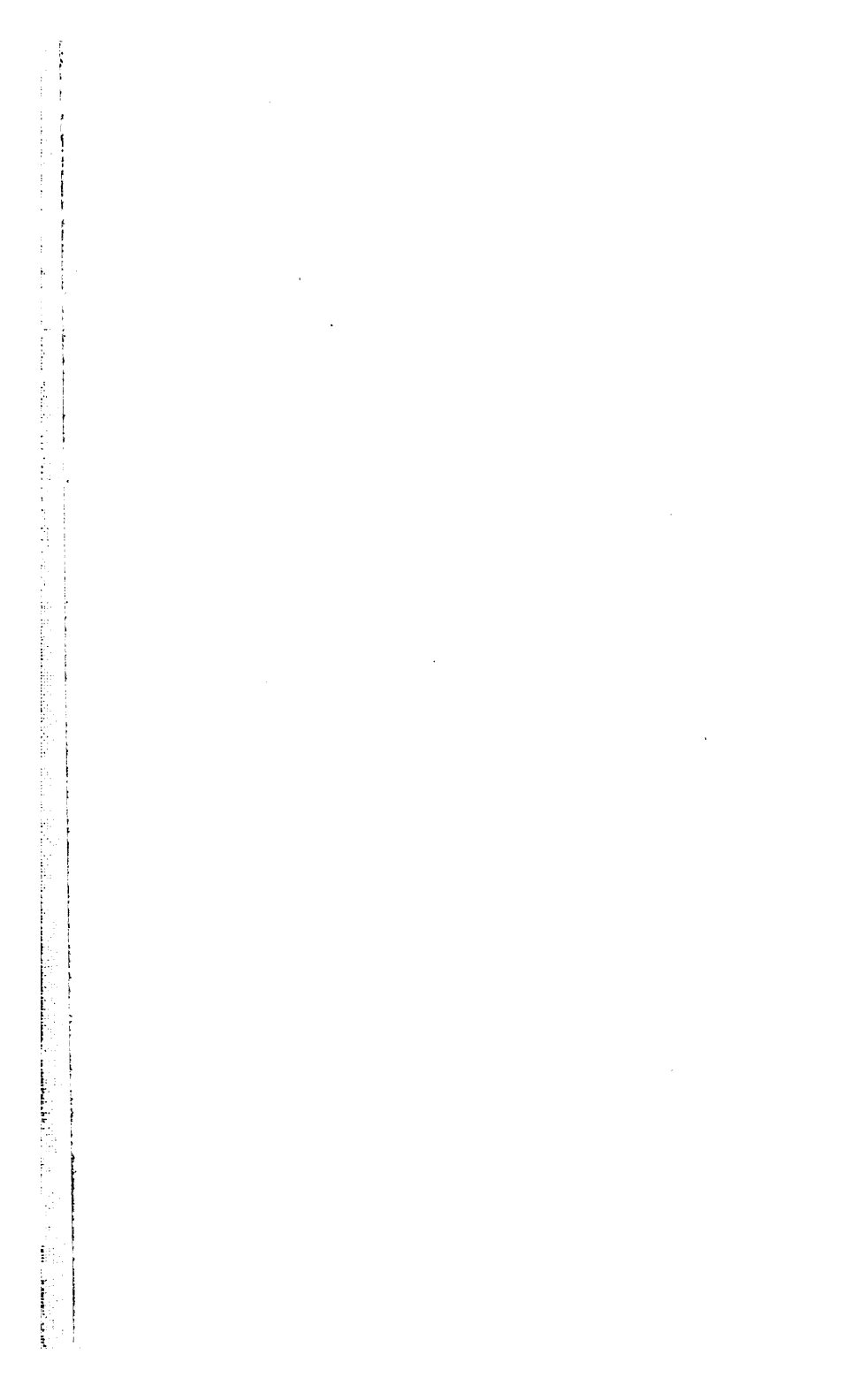
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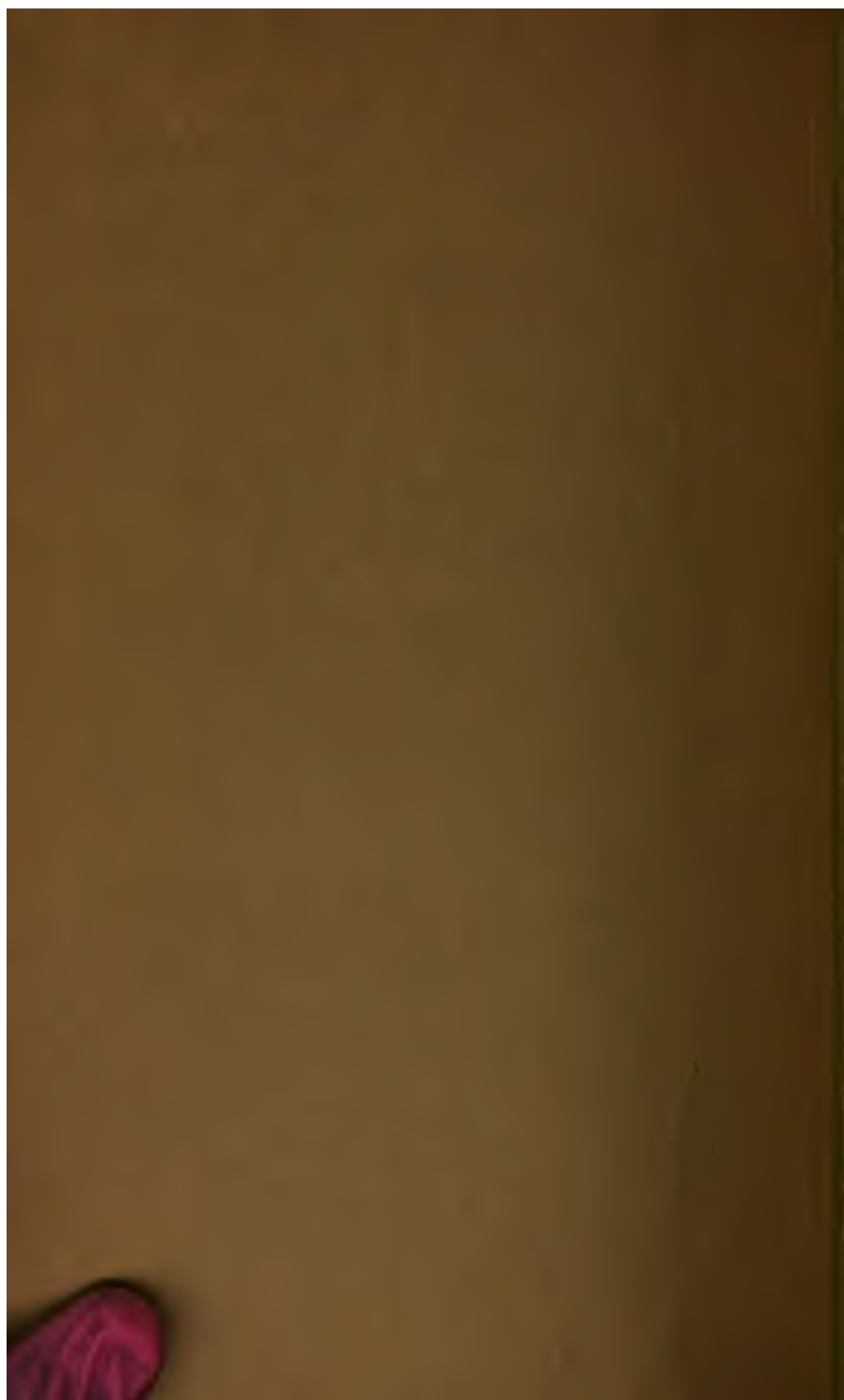
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